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A
LETTER
TO
CLEOMENES
KING of
SPARTA,
FROM
Eustace Budgell, Esq;

Being An

A N S W E R,

Paragraph by Paragraph,

To His *Spartan* Majesty's ROYAL
EPISTLE Published some Time
since in the *Daily Courant*.

With some Account of the MANNERS and
GOVERNMENT of the Antient GREEKS
and ROMANS, and Political REFLECTIONS
thereon.

The SECOND EDITION.

L O N D O N:

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I N T R O-



T H E

*INTRODUCTION.

The following Sheets contain an Answer to the Celebrated Letter of the mighty CLEOMENES.



T is no great Secret from what Hand that Letter came, and what Endeavours were used at its first Appearance to make it pass for a Master-piece; tho', since the Town has declared against it, I find those very People who were once its greatest Admirers, are not quite so loud in their Encomiums.

* It is so necessary my Readers should peruse *This* before the *Letter to Cleomenes*, that I have ventured to give it a Name after the Manner of the Ancients: *Theophrastus* calls the Discourse before his Excellent *Characters*, Προώματος; in *Latin*, *Proæmium*; in *English*, *The Introduction*.

B

I should

I should have answer'd this Letter sooner, but for some *particular Reasons*, which it is neither *necessary* my Readers should know, nor might be *safe* for me to tell.

I did not begin to write till some time after that *Sixpenny Pamphlet* was publish'd against me, which the *King of Sparta* thought fit to mention in his own *Royal Epistle*; and was pleased to intimate, wou'd be a *full Reply* to my *Letter to the Craftsman*. Upon this Intimation I resolved to receive my Enemies *whole Fire*, and to hear *all* they could say, that I might at once give an Answer to whatever should deserve one.

At last this Pamphlet came out, which was *Advertised* about *six Weeks* before it was *published*: I am told, that, upon *Second Thoughts*, it was *withdrawn* after it was first sent to the *Prefs*, in order to make some *necessary Alterations*. The Author subscribes himself *R. M.* and appears to be so very *warm* in the *Cause* he undertakes, that from *hence*, and the two *Letters R. M.* which

which he has printed as the *Initial Letters* of his *proper Name*, one would almost suspect him to be a *well-known Gentleman*, of whose *Labours* and *Zeal* for the *Interest* of a certain *noble Person*, the Journals of the *British House of Commons* are standing and undeniable Evidences. The Stile of this Pamphlet is not extreamly *sublime*, tho' it must be confessed, that in many Places it is hardly *intelligible*. Whatever it asserts as *Matter of Fact*, is, generally speaking, directly *false*. The Author's principal *Design*, if I guess right, was to provoke me by these *false Assertions* (added to the most *abusive Language* and *cruel Insults*, upon my *being under Confinement*) to say something in Answer to him, which might be laid hold of by my Adversaries; with whose *tender Mercies* I am already too well acquainted, to entertain the least Doubt about their applying to the *Secular Arm*, and making a *full Use* of any such *Advantage*. Tho', as soon as I saw this Pamphlet, I resolved never to give it a *formal Answer*, I shall quote enough of it to convince my Readers that I have not misrepresented Mr. R. M. the worthy Author.

4 *The INTRODUCTION.*

In my *Letter to the Craftsman*, I affirm,
“ That, * In more than one Instance, I have
“ been treated with greater Severity than
“ ever any Englishman was before in the
“ like Circumstances.

I afterwards add :

“ As I never loved general Assertions,
“ I am here strongly tempted to descend to
“ Particulars ; but when I consider my present
“ Situation, I am in great Doubt, whether,
“ with any tolerable Assurance of Impunity,
“ I might venture to mention even the most
“ plain, the most notorious, and undeniable
“ Facts.

From these Words Mr. R. M. takes Occasion to fall upon me in the following Manner.

“ Does it well consist or agree with such
“ daring Declarations, such sturdy Defiances
“ as you have made, that you would give up
“ your Life in this Cause, if you failed in the
“ Proof: I say, does it correspond with such

* See Page the 32d in the Seventh Edition of the *Letter to the Craftsman*.

“ seeming

“ seeming Intrepidity, to make this sneaking,
“ this shuffling Prevarication in the Close,
“ that, in your present Situation, you are in
“ some Doubt, whether, with any tolerable
“ Assurance of Impunity, you may venture
“ to mention, even the most plain, the most
“ notorious and undeniable Facts? —
“ You have at least one Security, that Fines
“ and Imprisonment cannot possibly affect
“ you, for you are in Confinement already.
“ What is it then you have to fear? It is
“ not High-Treason to prove the Truth against
“ Sir R. W. Even Scandalum Magnum
“ cannot be your Terror. You are Lodg'd.
“ You are already beyond its Reach. Now,
“ therefore, since neither your Life or Liber-
“ ty, your Lands or Goods, can any Ways
“ suffer, by your Opposition to this great and
“ honourable Person, mighty and powerful
“ we allow him to be; What have you to
“ fear? What is it you are any ways alarm'd
“ at? for Providence hath happily indem-
“ nified your Ears by abolishing the Court of
“ Star-Chamber; a Blessing that ought to be
“ acknowledged. It is a poor and wretched
“ Artifice, that you can have any Punish-
“ ment to fear.

To all these *Insults* and *hard Words*, I shall only return the Gentleman, from whom I receive them, this *plain Answer*.

I confess, my present Condition is *wretched* enough ; tho' perhaps it is not yet so *bad*, but that there is a Possibility of its becoming still *worse*. I doubt a little even of the Truth of that *Proposition* which this ingenuous Writer *lays down*, and so plainly *demonstrates*, (viz.) That *Fines cannot possibly affect me*, because *I am in Confinement already* : Neither am I *fully satisfied*, of what this worthy Author farther asserts, *that my Life is in no manner of Danger* ; from the same Reason, (viz.) only because *I am in Confinement already* ; Having read somewhere of an *unhappy Gentleman*, one Sir *Thomas Overbury*, who was brought into *Confinement* by the Contrivances of a * *great Man*, and a

great

* This *great Man*, and *great Minister*, was Mr. *Robert Car*, who, from a *private Gentleman of no great Parts or Birth* (says *Echard*) was made a *Knight of the Garter*, and well known afterwards by the Title of *Sir Robert Car* : He was at last created *Earl of Somerset* by King *James the First*, in whose Reign he was *first Minister*, and *chief Favourite*. The Story of *Overbury* has some *Particulars* in it so *curious*, that, I believe, such of my Readers,

The INTRODUCTION. 7

great Minister ; for no other Reason, but that he might afterwards be dispatch'd into another World, with the less Noise and Observation. In a Word, I have had some little

Readers, as are not already acquainted with it, will be glad to know it. Mr. Thomas Overbury was a *Man of Sense*, and a *Scholar*. He had applied himself for some time to the Study of the Law, in which he made a considerable Progress, but at last unfortunately left the Temple, in Hopes of getting Preferment at Court. Here he soon became acquainted with Sir Robert Car. This great Favourite, upon the Death of that famous Statesman, the Earl of Salisbury, (says Echard) assumed the whole Administration of the Government, and took the Liberty to receive Packets, and dispatch Answers without the Knowledge of the King or Council. Overbury was famous for having a fine Pen; and we have still a Poem of this unhappy Gentleman's, which is full of Wit and true Satyr. Somerset, upon several Occasions, had made use of his Advice, and his Pen, and had found both so serviceable, that he had often made him the strongest Professions of Gratitude and Friendship. Poor Overbury, who was now knighted, thought himself obliged to act in all Respects like a real and sincere Friend, and to consult the Good of his Patron. Accordingly, he took the Liberty to speak his Sentiments to the Minister, in relation to his Conduct, in a certain scandalous Affair, which Overbury plainly told him would prove his Ruin. Somerset, whose Head was now turned with Pride and Power, could not forgive this Freedom in his Friend, but resolved to take away his Life by Poison; in order to effect this with the more Secrecy, he contrived to get him imprisoned in the Tower. There is a Letter of Overbury's still extant, in which he upbraids Somerset in the most lively Terms, with his Cruelty and Ingratitude: And this very Letter is thought, by most People, to have hastened his Fate. When the uncommon Strength of this poor Gentleman's Constitution had struggled for above four Months together with all the Pois-

8 *The INTRODUCTION.*

little Experience of my Enemies *Mercy* and *good Nature*, and must therefore beg this Gentleman's Pardon, if I still use the same *Caution* I did in my *Letter to the Craftsman.*

sions which had been given him at several Times by *Somerset's* Direction, he dy'd at last under unheard-of Pains. *And, now* (says *Echard*) *the Earl of Somerset, like a mighty Coloss, stood the Fury of all the Tempests raised against him; making those who carry'd the greatest Sail, to strike, and come under him; nor would suffer any Place in Court, or Dignity in State, to be conferr'd on any, which was not sweeten'd with his Smile that gave it, or their Bounty that enjoy'd it.* This Pride and Avarice joined to his other Miscarriages, caus'd such a Number of Underminers, that he soon found he had but a tottering Foundation, with no other Support but the King's Favour, which, by Providence and inferior Accidents, was gradually removed; making a Way towards the Vengeance due to the Blood of Sir Thomas Overbury. The barbarous Murder of this innocent unfortunate Gentleman, which had been privately whisper'd for some time, began at last, to be loudly talked of. All who heard the Story, were struck with Horror: King *James*, to convince his Subjects how impartially he was resolved throughout his whole Reign to administer *Justice*, and that he would never tolerate either *Murder* or *Oppression* in his first *Ministers*, sent for all the Judges to come to him at *Theobalds*: The Judges waited upon him accordingly, when his Majesty kneeling down in the midst of a Circle of Court Lords and Gentlemen, after having conjured his Judges in the most solemn Manner, to examine into the Bottom of Overbury's Affair, without *Favour, Affection, or Partiality*, he added (says Sir *Anthony Weldon*) these very remarkable Words: *And if you shall spare any of this Crime, God's Curse light on you and your Posterity: And if I spare any that are found Guilty, may God's eternal Curse light on me and my Posterity.* The Judges having received so strict a Charge, and such full Encouragement, fell roundly to their Busines, without fearing

Craftsman. I do, however, make Mr. R. M. this fair Offer; If he will procure me any tolerable Assurance of writing with Impunity (and by his own Confession, he is

fearing the Frowns of a Minister whom they now suspected to be declining. One *Richard Weston* was the first Man who was convicted and executed, for being an Instrument *Somerset* had made use of to murder *Overbury*: *Weston* made a very full Confession of the whole Fact; and *Hollis*, *Wentworth*, and *Lumsden* were fined and imprisoned, for having offered him a vast Bribe, and strongly tempted him to prevaricate. Mrs. *Turner*, *James Franklin*, and Sir *Jervase Ellways*, Lieutenant of the Tower, three more of *Somerset's* Instruments, were soon after convicted and executed; who all likewise confessed the Fact for which they suffered. At the Tryal of Sir *Jervase Ellways*, it plainly appear'd by Letters under the Earl of *Northampton's* own Hand, that he likewise had been an Actor in *Overbury's* Tragedy; and the World was amazed to find, that a Nobleman, who was Master of a vast Fortune, should engage himself in so Low and Execrable a Piece of Villainy, only to make his Court to a first Minister. *Northampton* was dead at this Time, and (having built that Noble Palace near *Charing-Cross*, now called *Northumberland-House*, and always kept an open and a plentiful Table) had left a tolerable Character behind him. But now (says *Echard*) Fame loaded his Memory with all the Blackness that Infamy and Odium could produce. *Somerset*, tho' every Body knew he was the Primary Murderer, found Means to defer his Tryal till the Year following: So effectually will Power and Money screen the most evident Guilt. At last, when the Cries of the whole Nation grew too loud to be stopped, and every Body openly complain'd, that tho' some of his Instruments had received their just Reward, yet the Man who set them at Work, was still unpunished; he and his Wife were brought to their Tryals: They were both soon convicted: The Countess, who was generally thought

the

is acquainted with the *Powerful* and the *Mighty*) I am ready to open such a *Scene*, as possibly every honest *Englishman* may start at the Sight of: But if Mr. R. M. will give me no such Assurance, the Publick will please to judge whether his Manner of treating me upon this Head, is altogether consistent with *Candour* and *Generosity*. I confess, his mentioning the *Star-Chamber* with some sort of Concern, that so *infamous* and *tyrannical* a Court was ever abolish'd, does not mightily tempt me to say every

the finest Woman in *England*, gave her Peers no Trouble, but with a Shower of Tears pleaded Guilty; and rather chose to confess the Fact, than have such Particulars proved upon her by the Evidence, as must have made her *Soul* appear a most unworthy Tenant of so beautiful a *Body*. King *James*, tho' so many Persons had been already executed, who were only the Instruments of his Minister's Wickedness; and notwithstanding his own most solemn Execration before-mentioned, not only pardon'd *Somerset*, but, tho' he removed him from Court, gave him an Estate of 4000*l. per Ann.* in Land; before which this *wicked* and *worthless* Man had (according to *Rapin*) by several *scandalous* *Jobbs*, in five Years Time, got an Estate of 19,000*l. per Ann.* in Land, and 200,000*l.* in Money; a vast Sum at that Time, tho' but a meer Trifle to what we have known a first Minister get since those Days. *James* the First was most severely censured for this notorious Partiality towards his Minister; and some Writers think, that all those Calamities which soon after befel himself and his unfortunate Postterity, were owing to his letting *Somerset* escape unpunished: And, that by this A&t of Injustice, he drew down upon himself and his *Children*, that *Vengeance* which the cruel *Sufferings* of poor *Overbury* seemed so loudly to call for.

thing

thing I could, however kindly Mr. R. M. is pleased to *invite* me to it. The Groans of a whole Nation, added to the *particular Sufferings* of her *bravest Patriots*, spoke at last so loud, as fired an *English Parliament*, and made them destroy the very *Being* of that *infamous Court* last mentioned: But notwithstanding that Court is abolish'd, yet, as Mr. R. M. has very rightly, though perhaps a little unwarily, observed, in another Part of his Pamphlet; *The LAW, by the LITTLE TRICKS OF THE LONG ROBE, has been sometimes MADE to Censure such Writings as could not properly be term'd LIBELLOUS;* I do intirely agree with Mr. R. M. in this his Observation, which I am afraid is almost the *only just one* in his whole Book.

I shall lay before my Readers, an Instance or two of Mr. R. M's *reducing a Controversy to one single Point*: Of his *arguing after the Socratical Manner*, or by *way of Question*: Of his *Method of vindicating his Friends from those unjust Aspersions which have been laid upon them*: Of the *Justice of his personal Reflections*; of the *Truth of his Facts*, and his *happy Talent at Panegyrick*.

Nothing.

“ *Nothing* (says Mr. R. M. to me) *can be*
“ *a more heinous Iniquity, a more aggra-*
“ *vated Wickedness, than an Attempt upon*
“ *your Life, a Combination with a Creditor*
“ *to imprison, and with a Gaoler to murder*
“ *you. Make this appear to the Satisfaction*
“ *of Mankind, we will believe all the rest,*
“ *the worst things you can say against Sir*
“ *R. W. But in order to make it appear,*
“ *shew us likewise, That he influenc'd your*
“ *Bail to surrender you.*

I do most readily assent to Mr. R. M's Assertion in his *first Period*: I am infinitely obliged to him for his *gracious Promise* in his *second Period*: But, alas! the *Command* which he lays upon me in his *third Period* (which if I do not *obey*, I am not, it seems, entitled to any of his *Favours*) has spoilt all. *But in order to make this appear, shew us* (says Mr. R. M.) *that Sir R. W. influenced your Bail to surrender you.* I must own I cannot help thinking this *Order* a little *severe*, because in my Letter to the *Craftsman* which Mr. R. M. pretends he is answering, I do expressly declare, that my
Bail

Bail never did surrender me ; but that I surrendered myself to the Fleet, to save my Bail from paying a pretended Debt, for which I was unjustly sued.

Mr. R. M. frequently argues in the *Socratical Manner*, that is, by way of Question : Speaking of me and my Charge against Sir R. W.

“ What (says Mr. R. M.) are his Vouchers? Where are his Evidences? How shall we confront or cross-examine them? And will a Man dare to make such an Attack upon the Fame of a Minister, without the least Intention to justify the Charge? Will he look to Heaven and pray for Mercy? Will he turn to Men and sue for Pity? whilst he proceeds in such Wickedness, Malice and Falshood.

I confess this *Groupe* of Questions, so happily flung together, shews a very fertile Genius, and perhaps, this is the best Method of *Confounding* an Adversary : I have heard, That when a certain Sort of Man turns *Disputant*, he has been known to

to ask more Questions in an *Hour*, than a *wise Man* could answer in a *Fortnight*; and perhaps this very Consideration made the *wisest of Men* sometimes giye no other Answer to one *Question*, than by asking *another*. I shall for once, presume to follow so great an Example, and shall answer all the Queries of Mr. *R. M.*, or Mr. *What-d'ye-call-him* (as * Mr. *Scrub* humorously calls him) with this single Question, *viz.* If all my *Vouchers* are *prepared*, if my *Evidences* are *ready to appear*, and are even willing to submit to be *Confronted* and *Cross-examined* by Mr. *What-d'ye-call-him*, *Where* and *When* are we to wait upon him?

“ *If* (says Mr. *R. M.* to me) *you do not prove this great, this grievous Oppression, Pray what shall we say of you? who alarm the World, with what you dare not bring to the Test of Enquiry, and which you are afraid should be examined, tho' under the View of a most impartial and indulgent Judge, the Prince of whom we speak?* ”

* A Gentleman who has wrote an humourous Pamphlet in Mr. *Budzell's* Defence, and in Answer to Mr. *R. M.* was pleased to subscribe himself *Timothy Scrub*.

If nothing in my Behaviour has yet shewn, that I have asserted what *I dare not bring to the Test of Enquiry*, or that I am afraid of being examined by that excellent Prince, who, I believe as firmly as this Author can, would be a *most impartial and indulgent Judge*; I say, If nothing in my Behaviour has yet shewn, that I am afraid of being *Examined* by that *just and good Prince*, the King of *Great Britain*, I think I need not give any manner of Answer to Mr. R. M's satirical Query, in his Paragraph last quoted, *viz. Pray what shall we say of You?*

I shall give my Readers one more Instance of Mr. R. M's great Judgment in asking Questions.

“ You say (says Mr. R. M. to me) you
“ was once Sir R. W's Friend, when he was
“ struggling with a very great, and a very
“ able Man : I suppose you mean a noble
“ Earl, Minister in the last Reign, who has
“ long since been with his Fathers. But, do
“ you remember in all this Struggle, that
“ this Honourable Person ever libell'd the
“ Great

“ Great Man we speak of? or ever abus’d
“ him to his Royal Master? or to the Pub-
“ lic? with general Accusations, unsup-
“ ported Improbabilities, dark Hints, or
“ random Insinuations? No, Sir, he had
“ the Pleasure to suppress all such Attempts
“ of this Nature, as were offered to his
“ Approbation, and never made his Appeals
“ to the Populace against that Minister, on
“ any Account, but in Defence of his own
“ Reputation.

I could give Mr. R. M. a very particular Answer to each of his Questions in this Paragraph; but at present, for certain Reasons, I shall only tell him, that I am his most Obedient and most Humble Servant.

Mr. R. M. is extreamly happy in his Vindications of his Fellow-labourer, the St. James’s Evening Post, and of Sir R. W.

“ *The St. James’s Evening Post* (says
“ Mr. R. M.) took the Liberty to say you
“ was safely conducted from Court, Home to
“ your Family.

The *St. James's Post* did, indeed, take *this Liberty*, and in answer to him, I took the Liberty to say, That he had publish'd to the World a most *shameful Falshood*, for which there was not even the *least Foundation*. That I humbly conceived this Falsehood was a high *Reflection* upon the *King* himself, since all good Princes have ever lent a gracious Ear to the Complaints of their Subjects, more especially against their own *Ministers*, who are, generally speaking, too powerful to be check'd by any but their *Master*: That His Majesty was pleas'd to hear what I said to him, with that *Goodness* and *Condescension*, which are never wanting in a *generous Breast*; but that any body would imagine, by the Account given in the *St. James's Evening Post*, that I had been sent Home with a *File of Musketeers*, or, at least, in Custody of the Yeomen of the Guard.

Let us now see, in what Manner Mr. R. M. vindicates his Associate, the *St. James's Evening Post*, from my *unjust Accu-*

Accusation. He addresses himself to me in the following Words.

“ Who would interpret it as you do ? that
“ you was sent Home by a File of Musqueteers,
“ or at least by the Yeomen of the Guard ?
“ No, Sir, all that know your present Con-
“ finement, and the Circumstances of so im-
“ portant a Person, can be no Secret with the
“ Publick : All, I say, imagined, as well
“ they might, that the Officer attending
“ your Person, enlarged by a Day-Rule, safely
“ conducted you Home to your Quarters, the
“ Rules of the Fleet-Prifon.

Though I do not take Mr. R. M. to be a very *knowing Person*, yet I am fully persuaded, that in this Place he is pleased to make himself much more ignorant than he really is, in order to bring off his *Friend* and *Ally*, the *St. James's Post*. There is scarce a Porter in Town, who does not know, that those unhappy Gentlemen, who are indulged with the *Liberties of the Rules of the Fleet*, are only *Prisoners upon Parole*; that they are *never attended by any Officer*, either while they are *within the*

the Rules, or when, by virtue of a Day-Rule, they go *out* of them. If they could resolve to forfeit their *Honour* to their *Bail*, or the *Warden*, it is in their Power to make their Escape every Day of their Lives, and to become as free as Mr. R. M. himself is at this present writing. Their own *Honour* is the only *Officer* that attends them, and *safely conducts them Home to their Quarters, the Rules of the Fleet Prison.* It is certain, that to *Men of Honour*, this same *Honour* is the most *inexorable Gaoler upon Earth*, and was never yet known to let one of them escape from him: It was he that forced *Regulus** to return from

* *Attilius Regulus* was Consul of *Rome* in the first Punick War. After having obtain'd several Victories, he at last besieged *Carthage* itself: The *Carthaginians*, in this Extremity, desired Aid from the *Lacedemonians*, who sent *Xantippus* to their Assistance. *Regulus*, engaging in a Plain, and his Cavalry being inferior to the *Spartan General's*, was defeated and taken Prisoner. When he had lain in a Dungeon some Years, the *Carthaginians* sent him to *Rome*, (still a Prisoner upon Parole) to persuade the Senate to agree to a Peace, or at least to an Exchange of Prisoners. The *Roman Senate* was well enough inclined to either, and pleased with the Thought of recovering a Citizen of so much Merit as *Regulus*. *Senatus nisi ipse Auctor fuisset, captivi profecto*

from *Rome* to *Carthage*, though the unhappy Prisoner very well knew the Treatment he was to expect there. Some Sort of People will, indeed, run away from this Keeper; but such are very seldom committed to his Custody: Since the greatest Men have met with Misfortunes, and it is not absolutely impossible that Mr. R. M. before he dies, may be better acquainted with the *Fleet Prison* than he pretends to be at present, I beg leave to inform him as a Friend, that I find the Warden of the

Fleet

feō Pœnis redditū essent; in columnis in Patriā Regulus restitisset, Cic. The only Obſtacle to their agreeing with the *Carthaginians*, was *Regulus* himself; who preferring the Honour and Welfare of his Country to his own Safety, made it appear, with an irresistible Eloquence in the Senate-Houſe, That the *Romans* neither ought to make Peace, nor agree to an Exchange of Prisoners. When he had obliged the Senate to come into these Sentiments, tho' he well knew what he must expect at *Carthage*, he returned thither in Spite of all the Persuasions of his weeping Friends, and was put to Death by the *Carthaginians*, with the most exquisite Tortures. *Regulum palpebris reſectis, Machinā, in quā undiq; præacuti ſtimuli eminebant, inclusum, vigilantiā pariter & continuo tractu doloris necaverunt, Valer. Maxim.* This Story gave Occasion to one of the finest Odes in all *Horace*: Which begins,

Fleet Prison is (as it behoves him to be) very *Cautious* whom he trusts, and that should a Man be committed to his Custody, who was pretty well known to have no Notion of *Shame* or *Honour*, to be govern'd by nothing but his *Interest*, and to make no Scruple of asserting, even in Print, the most flagrant *Falshoods*; I say, should such

*Cælo tonantem credidimus Jovem
Regnare: præsens divus habebitur
Augustus, adjectis Britannis
Imperio, gravibusque Persis.*

Horace has given us the *Speech* which he supposes *Regulus* made to the Senate upon this Occasion, and afterwards describes the Behaviour of *Regulus* himself, in those inimitable Lines:

*Fertur pudicæ conjugis osculum,
Parvosque natus, ut capitis minor,
Ab se removisse, & virilem
Torvus huni posuisse vultum;

Donec labantes consilio patres
Firmaret auctor nunquam alias dato,
Interque inerentes amicos
Egregius properaret exul.*

*Atqui sciebat quæ sibi barbarus
Totor pararet: non aliter tamen
Dimovit obstantes propinquos
Et populum redditus morantem,

Quam si clientum longa negotia
Dijudicata lite relinqueret;
Tendens Venafranos in agros
Aut Lacedemonium Tarentum.*

a Man be committed to the Warden's Custody, 'tis a Hundred to one, but that, instead of being trusted with the *Liberty of the Rules*, he would be *locked up* within the *Walls* of the Prison, a Punishment of so severe and terrible a Nature, that I do assure Mr. R. M. as much as he has *abused* me, I am far from wishing he may ever suffer. I know at present, by sad Experience, that *Confinement*, even in a tolerable Lodging, to a Man accustomed to Exercise, is a *sure*, though *lingering* Death ; since it will certainly bring such Distempers upon him as must at last prove *fatal* ; but that the Air of a Gaol, where a Multitude of Wretches are shut up together, has something in it so very *Noisome* and *Pestilential*, that I am surprized, to find Men of the strongest Constitutions can live in it *three Months* together. Under what Torments most of them are obliged to endure Life, is apparent from the *Report* of the Committee for the Inspecting Gaols, who, (tho' I am well assured, many *Particulars* were artfully concealed from them) have laid before the Publick such a Scene, as I hope, and do verily believe, neither the *Spanish Inqui-*

Inquisition nor the *Bastile* in *France*, are able to match. I chuse to dwell a little upon this Subject, that if there are any Men at present in Power, whose *Pride*, *Cruelty*, or *natural Insolence*, heightened by that *Luxury* in which they wallow *themselves*, makes them ready and eager, on the slightest Pretences, to fling *Englishmen*, their *Fellow-Subjects* and *Fellow-Creatures* into *Gaols*, *Prisons*, and *Dungeons*; I say, I dwell a little the longer upon this Subject, to make *such* Men (if such there are) reflect, if possible, that while they may fancy they are only rendering themselves awful to the People, or giving an Opportunity to an honest Gaoler their Friend, to get a little Money; they are too often committing the *blackest Murders*, for which, if there ever is to be a *just* and *real Inquisition*, the Blood of those unhappy Wretches, who perish in the Prisons to which such Magistrates send them, will most certainly be demanded at their Hands.

Mr. *Thomson*, in one of his Poems upon *the Seasons*, has a very proper Memento

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for such Men, whose *Insolence in Power* makes them almost forget that they are of the same Species with their Fellow Creatures.

Ah, little think the gay, licentious *Proud*,
Whom *Pleasure*, *Power* and *Affluence* surround,
How many feel this very Moment, *Death*,
And all the sad Variety of Pain.

How many pine in Want, and dungeon *Glooms* ;
Shut from the common *Air*, and common *Use*
Of their own *Limbs*.

The same Gentleman speaking of the late Committee for Inspecting Gaols, makes them the following handsome and just Compliment.

And here can I forget the generous *Few*,
Who, touch'd with human Woe, redressive sought
Into the Horrors of the gloomy Jail ?

Unpitied, and unheard, where Misery moans ;
Where Sickness pines ; where Thirst and Hunger
burn,

And poor *Misfortune* feels the Lash of *Vice*.
While in the *Land of Liberty*, the Land
Whose every Street, and publick Meeting glows
With open Freedom, little *Tyrants* rag'd :
Snatch'd the lean Morsel from the starving Mouth,
Tore from cold, wintry Limbs, the tatter'd Robe ;
Even

Even robb'd them of the last of Comforts, *Sleep* ;
The free-born *Briton* to the Dungeon chain'd,
Or, as the *Lust of Cruelty* prevail'd,
At pleasure mark'd him with inglorious Stripes ;
And crush'd out *Lives*, by various nameleſs Ways,
That for their *Country* would have *toil'd*, or *bled*.
Hail Patriot-band ! who scorning secret Scorn,
When *Justice*, and when *Mercy* led the Way,
Dragg'd the *detected Monsters* into *Light*,
Wrench'd from their Hand Oppression's *Iron Rod*,
And bade the Cruel feel the Pains they *gave*.

I am sure Mr. *R. M.* will excuse me, for mentioning a *Committee* in this manner, whose *Enquiries*, he assures us, Sir *R. W.* most *heartily promoted*: To which I shall only answer, That *I am heartily glad to hear it*; and could even wish that Honourable Committee had given some *publick Mark* of their *Gratitude* to this great Man for his *generous Assistance*; which was certainly the more *generous*, as it is commonly thought that *Somebody* used all his *Arts* and *Cunning* to *mislead* them; and even to *wound* the *Reputation* of those particular Gentlemen who appeared most active.

Having

Having shewn in how notable a Manner Mr. R. M. has vindicated the *Author* of that Paragraph, which gave an Account of my *Affair* in the *St. James's Evening Post*, I shall shew my Readers, in the next Place, in what Manner he vindicates his *Patron* Sir R. W.

Mr. R. M. says, That I *confidently assert* in my Letter to the *Craftsman*, that Sir R. W. was the Author of those Queries which I have answered, and which were printed about two Years since in the *British Journal*: Let us see how Mr. R. M. brings him off; for I confess I look upon *this* to be the most *remarkable Part* in his whole Pamphlet. Mr. R. M. is so zealous to serve his *Friend*, that he is content to take those Queries upon *himself*, though, as Mr. Scrubb has observ'd before me, he cannot help *Mumbling* a little upon the Thistles.

“ *As to the Queries in the British Journal*
“ (*says Mr. R. M.*) *I procured them to be*
“ *inserted myself*, at a Time when *I had*
“ *not seen Sir R. W. in any Place whatever*,
“ *above*

" above five or six Times in the whole
" Course of my Life ; and had so little Com-
" munication with him, that I do solemnly
" Affirm, he never knew from me, nor I
" believe from any one, that I was the pe-
" culiar Author of those particular Queries.

Now I humbly conceive, as Mr. Scrubb has observed * before me, that Sir R. W. might write those Queries, though he made Mr. R. M. his Foot-man, and sent him with them to the Printer of the British Journal, in which Paper, it seems, to use his own Words, he procured them to be inserted.

I do most firmly believe, what Mr. R. M. does most solemnly Affirm in the latter Part of this Paragraph ; viz. That Sir R. W. never knew either from Mr. R. M. or from any body else, That he the said Mr. R. M. was the peculiar Author of these particular Queries, an Expression, in which there is so particular an Elegance, as I dare say is Peculiar to this very Author, whose whole Defence of

* Page 27.

Sir

Sir *R. W.* upon this Head, is so extreamly *Peculiar* and *Particular*, that I think it can hardly escape the *Observation* of any Reader.

But tho' I should take Mr. *R. M.*'s *solemn Affirmations* and *Declarations*, in that Sense in which I presume he would willingly *have them taken* (*viz.*) That he was the *real Author* of those *Queries*, I cannot help thinking, that Mr. *R. M.* is pleased to act in a pretty *extraordinary* Manner. When any Thing is *asserted*, the World will most certainly take the Liberty either to believe it or not, according to the Opinion they have of *that Person's Veracity* who tells them the Story. For a Man, therefore, who does not think fit to set his *Name* to what he says, to expect to be believed in a Case where, as the *French* say, * *Appearances are against him*, is such an *uncommon Piece of Assurance*, as I do not remember to have met with before in *any Author*. I must confess, I cannot help thinking, that the

* Les Apparances font contre.

Proceeding of Mr. *Calcot* and Mr. *Jones* in the *Dunkirk-Affair*, was much more *modest*. Those Gentlemen, after having received *proper* Directions, went in *proper* Company before a *proper* Magistrate ; where, having made a *proper* Affidavit, they signed it with their own *proper Names* ; and every Body knows, that the Publick had a *proper* REGARD, and gave a *proper* Credit to every Syllable they swore. Might I therefore presume so far, I should humbly advise Mr. *R. M.* to print a *Second Edition* of his Pamphlet ; (tho' I find the *First* is not yet disposed of) and to put his *Name* to the New Edition. This is the more *necessary*, because in another Part of his Book he is pleased to stake his *Honour* and his *Reputation* upon certain Points ; and it would, doubtless, be no small Satisfaction to his Readers to be convinced how *great a Stake* this worthy Gentleman is pleased to venture in order to give them *full Satisfaction*.

I cannot help adding one more Argument to induce this great Author, if possible, to comply with my Request. Speaking of Sir *R. W.* “ *Neither have I herein*
“ (says

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“ (says Mr. R. M.) *Expectations* of Sir R. W’s
“ *Favour.* — But, really, I vindicate this
“ Honourable Person from other Motives
“ than private Views.— I therefore defy
“ and despise the foolish Imputation of Wri-
“ ting for Hire.

Notwithstanding all these *Solemn Professions* from a Man of Mr. R. M’s strict Honour and establish’d Reputation, such is the shameful Incredulity of the Age we live in, that it has been strongly reported, Mr. R. M. is an humble Adherent to a certain most Noble Person, and has at this very Time a *Pension during Pleasure*; which, as a Reward for his *Merit* and *Services*, was conferr’d upon him by that great *Mæcenas* of the present Age. Mr. Scrubb has had the Malice to observe that, by Mr. R. M’s own Confession, he had the Honour to see this Noble Person *five or six times* some Years since; and as great Genius’s do in a manner demand an Alliance, and run into each other’s Arms by a sort of Instinct *. Mr.

* Great Souls by *Instinct*, to each other turn,
Demand *Alliance*, and in *Friendship* burn.

ADDISON.

Scrub

Scrubbs seems to imagine, that Mr. R. M. and Sir R. W. live together at present like *Pylades* and *Orestes**, and are become the most intimate Friends.

Common Fame goes so far as to say, that Mr. R. M. has had a Particular Reward for Writing this very Pamphlet : It is true, Common Fame is a malicious Baggage ; yet, if she should happen for once to be in the Right, I do hereby assure Mr. R. M. that I take nothing at all amiss from him : An hired Servant in regular Pay must do something for his Wages ; and I shall only beg Leave to set down a few of his personal Civilities, to the Account of his Master : I am sorry that I am forced to tell Mr. R. M. that, to my certain Knowledge, he did not write those Queries in the British Journal ; which for certain Reasons he now most

* *Thoas*, King of Taurica, having determined to put Orestes to Death, his Friend *Pylades*, who was not unlike him, declared that he was Orestes ; and was going to have suffered Death, if Orestes, as the Truth was, had not declared that he was the Man. This generous Contention between the two Friends, made The Friendship of Pylades and Orestes become a Proverb throughout all Greece.

earnestly

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earnestly endeavours to pass for the *Author* of. I must go a little farther, and shall venture to *assert*, that any Man living, who is a tolerable *Judge* of *English Stiles*, and who will but give himself the Trouble to compare my *Quotations* out of Mr. R. M's Pamphlet with those *Queries**, will be soon convinced that Mr. R. M. was not the Author of the *Latter*. I have already said in my *Letter to the Craftsman*, that *I do not take the Querist to be an Author of the FIRST CLASS*; yet there is a *Smoothness* in his Stile which, tho' it may border a little upon the *Insipid*, is certainly a good deal better than that *hobbling Stile* so very *peculiar* to Mr. R. M. There is also a *Per-spicuity* in the Querist's Writing, which I do hereby give it under my Hand, Mr. R. M. will never attain to as long as he lives: If, for Example, the *true Querist* had thought fit to *father* his own Production, I am of Opinion he would have done it in a much *plainer*, if not a more *eloquent Manner*, than by saying, *I do solemnly affirm, that Mr.*

* These Queries are inserted at length in my *Letter to the Craftsman*.

R. M.

R. M. never knew from me, nor I believe from any one, that I was the peculiar Author of these particular Queries. Upon the whole, I do not find myself at all disposed to recant whatever I have confidently *Affirmed* in my Letter to Mr. D'Anvers.

I proceed to shew,

The Justice of Mr. R. M's personal Reflections, The Truth of his Facts, and his happy Talent for Panegyrick, after which I will give One short Specimen of his Learning, and of his Ingenuous Manner of making a Quotation.

A Man would imagine that Mr. *R. M.* had sufficiently shewn his Zeal for his Master, by all the ill Language which he has made so constant an use of throughout his Pamphlet ; but not content with this, he is pleased to go out of his Way for such personal Reflections, which if they had been true, (as they are utterly false and groundless) would, in my humble Opinion, have been nothing at all to his present Purpose. Mr. *R. M.* is pleased to inform

the World, that I have of late Years had a great many Law-Suits in different Courts, and then adds, with equal *Truth* and *good Nature*,

“ *If Mr. Budgell would have been as industrious to have kept out of Suits in those Courts, as he was to shew his Parts upon those Occasions, he would not now have complained of any such terrifying Severities.*

The Character of a *Litigious Man* is, without Dispute, one of the *worst* of Characters, and how little I deserve it, the World is, I believe, at this time pretty well convinced. It is certain I have had, as I find Mr. *R. M.* well knows, a sufficient Number of Law-Suits to ruin any *private Gentleman* of a moderate Fortune; but it is as certain, that they have been *forced* upon me, and *multiplied* in such a Manner, as I hope and believe is without a *Precedent*. For a Proof of what I affirm, I have printed in the Appendix, *a State of one of my Cases*, as it was given in to the House of Lords, none of the Facts contained in which were

were ever denied by my Enemies, and to such of my Readers as understand a little *Law*, I dare say this Piece will be *pretty curious*. I shall say nothing of the *Issue* of this Cause before the House of Lords : *It is my Duty to Believe, that the famous PRECEDENT which was that Day MADE, was founded on the most strict and impartial Justice.*

I have been arrested more than once, without being *told*, or even able to *guess* upon what account. Some few Persons to whom I have given Notes under my Hand for Money, have been offered a *larger Sum* than my Notes entitled them to, for no other Reason, but that I might be *immediately Sued* upon them ; and this Offer has been made them by Persons of such *Figure* in the World, as I am sorry to find were not much *better employed*. When I saw how my private Fortune was struck at, I determined to apply myself to the *Profession of the Law*, which I had studied *some Years*, and for which I was originally designed ; but after I had been actually *called to the Bar*, such an Attempt was made to have prevented my *acting* in my Profession in *West-*

minster-Hall, as I believe I may very safely affirm, was never heard of before, since the Foundation of the *Inns of Court*. I must own I can scarce forbear enlarging myself a little upon some of these Heads : I can scarce forbear saying something more—but—I have done.—I hope no other *Englishman* will ever be *pursued* or *ruined* by the like Methods. For myself, I humbly trust that *Providence*, in its own due time, will either *put an End to my Sufferings*, or, what is just the same thing, will *enable me to support them*.

Mr. R. M. speaking of my formerly having served the Crown as *Secretary of State* in *Ireland*, insinuates, with his usual *Candor* and *Generosity*, that I *lost* that Employment for some *heinous Crime*: His Words are these,

“ *They who remember what Place he had,*
“ *do also remember how he lost it.*

I believe and hope, that there are some Thousands of my Fellow-Subjects in *England* and *Ireland*, who do very well know and remember, that I lost that Place for no other

other Reason, but because I refused to do what no Man of Honour or Honesty would have done. For the Truth of this Assertion, I dare refer Mr. *R. M.* to a certain *Friend* of his, even to Sir. *R. W.* who has formerly expressed his Sentiments of this Affair in several *publick Companies*, and in the most *open* Manner. In a Word, I take leave to tell Mr. *R. M.* that I am prouder of having lost a Post, for refusing to do a dishonest Action, though it would have been very much for my own private Advantage, than I should be to get a Post by doing such Work as Great Men will sometimes expect from their humble Adherents.

In another Part of his Pamphlet, Mr. *R. M.* most kindly insinuates, that *His Grace the present Duke of Bol—n can give some ample Testimonials relating to me, and not much to my Advantage.* I must own I am intirely at a losf, and cannot even guesf at what the ingenious Author means by this Reflection : I cannot remember that I ever spoke to the present Duke of *Bol—n* above once in my Life : It was in the Year 1721, about some Affairs depending in

Parliament, relating to the *South-Sea Company*, concerning which I had the good Fortune to be entirely in the same Way of Thinking with his Grace. I confess I thought myself a little hardly used by the late Duke of Bol—n; most People thought so too; nay, some of his Grace's *best Friends* and *nearest Relations* were of this Opinion. That unfortunate Peer is now no more. The very Person who was thought to have influenced him to my Prejudice, is said to have occasioned his *suffering* much *severer Pangs* than I ever desired he should *endure*.

If Mr. R. M. is endeavouring to revive the Remembrance of my unhappy Difference with his Grace, to make it an *Italian Quarrel*, and persuade his Posterity to keep it up; such a *Design* is extreamly *mean*, and I fancy will hardly take. I am so very far from having the least Prejudice to any one Person of that most Noble and Antient Family, that I should be proud to serve any of them if it lay in my Power; nor do I believe there is at present one among them who would willingly do me the least Injury.

Mr.

Mr. R. M. in his pretended Answer of my Letter to the *Craftsman*, very roundly tells me,

“ You represent, that either the Lord Chancellor, or present Master of the Rolls, “ would not suffer an Account to be ballanced, “ on one Article of which you lost your “ Liberty. You say they refused it, though “ you often required it, and draw the Integrity of those learned and honourable “ Persons in Question.

In answer to this Paragraph, I do assert, That I never did either represent or say, what Mr. R. M. with great Ingenuity has here charged me with saying : I shall therefore leave those Learned and Honourable Persons, whom he has so kindly introduced in this Paragraph, to return him their Thanks for the Compliment which he has made them.

Mr. R. M. shines in a particular Manner, whenever he aims at Panegyrick, of which I humbly conceive his following Observation is an undeniable Instance.

“ *The Case of Sir R. W. and the L. C.*
“ *J. Eyre* (says Mr. *R. M.*) *are too much*
“ *alike, in the Nature of the Slanders*
“ *against them, which are equally malicious,*
“ *scandalous, false, and utterly groundless.*

I shall not pretend to determine which of the great Men above-mentioned, is most obliged to Mr. *R. M.* for this *happy Comparison.*

I promised to give A short Specimen of Mr. *R. M.*’s *Learning*: Mr. *R. M.* in one Part of his Book, is of Opinion with his Fellow-Labourer, the *St. James’s Post*, that I am *greatly disorder’d in my Senses*; he has even taken some Pains to persuade me to *confess it ingenuously*, and upon *this Condition* graciously promises, that *all I have lately done shall be forgiven*: To convince his Readers how true a Notion he has of *Madness*, he has given them in Page the Ninth, a most *concise and excellent Definition* of it. *Madness*, if we may believe Mr. *R. M.* is an *Involuntary Misfortune*, owing to the *Influence of wandering Planets.*

Planets. It is very evident from this learned *Definition of Madness*, that Mr. R. M. is most profoundly skilled in the *Influences of the Planets*, and yet perhaps, if he had not given us this *Cast of his Art*, not one of his Readers would have suspected him for a *Conjurer*. If a Poor Gentleman greatly disorder'd in his Senses (I hope this ingenuous *Confession* will satisfy *) might presume to start an Objection to so learned an *Astrologer* about his own *Art*, I would humbly inform him, that Doctor Mead is very positive, that *Madness* is not owing to the *Influence of the Planets*, and that one Sir Isaac Newton has pretended to demonstrate, that every one of these same Planets is so very far from being *wandering*, that all its Motions are much more *constant*, *settled* and *regular* than the Motions of the best Watch ever made by the late Mr. Tompion; that they have been the same ever since the Creation, as they are at this

* It is rather to be hoped, *this Confession* will be thought sufficient, because it is in the *very Words* of the *Author* of the famous Paragraph in the *St. James's Evening Post*.

Day ; and are likely to continue the same for some Ages yet to come. I am far from presuming to determine any thing ; *Non nostrum tantas componere lites.* I think it sufficient to have shewn, that two such great Men as Mr. R. M. and Sir Isaac Newton are of different Opinions in this Particular.

I shall, lastly, take a little Notice of Mr. R. M's ingenuous Method of making a Quotation : Mr. R. M. in all his Answer to my Letter to the *Craftsman*, pretends to transcribe but one single Paragraph out of my said Letter. There is, however, one Paragraph which Mr. R. M. says,

“ Is so very singular, I cannot but chuse
“ to transcribe it.

Now Mr. R. M's Method of *transcribing* this unhappy Paragraph, which he has *singled out*, is thus : The whole Paragraph is but one Sentence, consisting of Seven Lines ; Mr. R. M. has very dexterously tack'd the two last Lines to the first Line, and left out those four Lines which stood between

between them, and made *part of the Sentence*. I am very far from finding fault with this Method of *transcribing a Passage* from the Writings of an Adversary, having often observed it practised with good Success by several *Authors* on the same Side of the Question with Mr. R. M., who in this Particular does but imitate the great *Cleomenes* himself, as I shall have occasion to shew hereafter.

I hope, however, my Readers do not expect that I should answer every Particular of a Pamphlet wrote in the *Stile* and *Manner* of Mr. R. M's. I should not easily be induced to undertake such a Task; but had much rather give Mr. R. M. full Permission to believe that every Word of his Pamphlet is *unanswerable*.

To confess the Truth, I have already, in my own Opinion, said a great deal too much in answer to a Pamphlet which I cannot find many People have taken the Pains to *read*: I had fully determined to make no manner of Reply to any Part of it, if two or three of my Friends, who assure

me it is wrote by Direction, had not per-
suaded me to take some Notice of it. If the
Reader would see an Answer to the rest of
it, he may find it in a Letter wrote by a Gen-
tleman, who has very generously taken my
Part, and is pleased to call himself *Timothy*
Scrubbs. Some of the publick Papers could
not help taking Notice, that this Gentle-
man's *manner of writing* plainly shews he
is not of the *Family* of the *Scrubbs*, and
that tho' he dates his Letter from a *Garret*,
'tis pretty evident he never lay in *one*. Mr.
Scrubbs has regaled Mr. *R. M.* with the same
sort of Language with which that ingenious
Author has treated *me*: And I must con-
fess, that tho' I have ever been an Enemy
to the *Billingsgate Dialect*, yet this same
Mr. *Scrubbs*, and the Author of a *Medita-*
tion upon a great Man, which he declares
is written after the Manner of the *Mighty*
Cleomenes, have almost convinced me,
that there are a Sort of Disputants, who
ought in Justice to be treated as they treat
other People, and to have their own Can-
non turn'd upon them. Mr. *Scrubbs's*
Letter to Mr. *R. M.* has a good deal of

Ban-

*Banter and low Humour, yet at the Bottom
of both, is good Sense and strong Argument.**

Having done for the present with Mr. R. M. I shall say something of his *Master*, Cleomenes; who, if we consider him purely as an Author, is certainly *one Class* above his humble Adherent. His Stile is a good deal better, but he is, it seems, so terribly provoked, that he can no more forbear *calling Names* and giving *ill Language*, than Mr. R. M. himself.

I shall therefore in this Place, fairly state my own Case, and consider what it is I have done, to deserve being told in Print, that *I am the most infamous and vilest of Mankind*, and that *there is not a Felon who*

* Mr. Scrubb's Pamphlet is entitled, *A Letter to the Author of a Letter to Eustace Budgell, Esq; in Answer to his Answer of the infamous Paragraph in the St. James's Evening Post.* Printed for J. Wilford behind the *Chapter-house* in St. Paul's Church-yard. Price Six-pence. Mr. Scrubb has taken the following Lines for his *Motto*,

*Boys and Girls, come out to play,
The Moon do's shine as bright as Day.
Come with a Whoop; come with a Call;
Come with a good Will;----or not at all.*

is sentenced at the Old Baily, who might not make a much better Defence than I can.

State of the Author's Case. I thought I knew some Things, which as a good Subject I was obliged in *Duty* to lay before His Majesty. I conceived at least, that I was cruelly oppress'd by a Man too great to be complain'd of to any but my King : To *Him* therefore, and to *Him alone*, I made my Complaint : After having endeavoured, at a *vast Expence*, and by a *long Attendance*, to obtain a private Audience, when I saw such Methods were taken to prevent my having one, as I believe were never heard of before at an *English Court* ; I found myself obliged to put part of what I would have said, into a *Petition*, which I delivered into His Majesty's Hand, in that only Place where I had a *proper Opportunity* of presenting it. If I know *any thing* of the Laws of my Country (and I think I do know *something* of them) *Every English Subject has an undoubted Right to petition his Prince*. The greatest Advocates for *Slavery* have never yet had the Assurance to dispute *this Point*. The most zealous Sticklers for *Passive Obedience*

Obedience have universally allowed, that *Prayers* and *Tears* were such Weapons, as the most *loyal Subjects* might lawfully employ against the most *absolute Monarch*: And I will venture to affirm, that while I am abused, persecuted and reviled, for no other apparent Reason, than having delivered a *Petition* to my *King*; every *honest Man* in *England* is obliged in good Policy to take my Part; because he cannot be assured how soon he may otherwise meet with the *like Treatment*. When I had delivered my Petition, I waited the Event of it with *Silence* and *Resignation*. I resolved not to complain upon the *same Subject* to my *Prince* and to the *Publick*, and when I had appealed to the *first*, I determined to say nothing to the *latter*: I have still so firmly adhered to this my Resolution, that I defy my greatest Enemies to prove I have ever communicated the Contents of that Paper I delivered to his *Majesty* to *any other Person*. I went still farther: I and my Friends used our utmost Endeavours, that all the *Publick Papers*, in which we fancied we had any Interest, should take *no Notice* of what I had

had done at St. James's. Our Endeavours succeeded ; but my Enemies made the most ungenerous use of my Behaviour in this Particular. They got those *Publick Papers*, in which they had any Interest, to represent *Matters of Fact* in the falsest Colours, nay, sometimes in such a Manner, as I and most People thought, reflected not only upon *me*, but even upon his *Majesty* ; a Prince, for whose sacred Person and illustrious Family I have ever shewn, and shall ever shew the most *fervent Zeal* and *profound Respect*. As for *me*, With that *Humanity* and *Affurance*, which is peculiar to them, they roundly told the *Publick*, That *I was a poor Gentleman, who had long been disordered in my Senses, and was at present down-right distracted*. When I found myself attacked in so extraordinary a Manner, I thought it necessary to say something at least in my own Defence : I therefore published that Pamphlet, entitled *A Letter to the Craftsman*, which has made some Noise in the World. In that Pamphlet I thanked Mr. *D'Anvers*, for having done me Justice in one of his Papers as to *Matters of Fact*. I endeavoured next

to

to shew, that I had been long mark'd out for Destruction ; that I had been severely threatened about two Years before, not by Innuendos, but by my own Name printed at full Length, and in Capital Letters in a Weekly Journal, which is generally thought to be wrote by the Direction, and under the Patronage of a certain noble Person : That the Accounts which had been given in the Publick Papers, of what I had lately done and said at St. James's, were most scandalously false in Fact ; and, lastly, I declared that I was ready to prove whatever was asserted in the Memorial I delivered to his Majesty, and SOMETHING MORE, whenever I was properly called upon to do so. These were the Contents of my Letter to Mr. D'Anvers.

It is scarce credible, how much some People were enraged at the Publication of this Pamphlet. I shall not trouble my Readers with a particular Account of all the *Spies* which were planted upon me, to discover with whom I conversed or corresponded, or how many People were sent to me, who either under the Masque of

E Friends,

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Friends, or by defending certain Persons and Actions, endeavour'd to *persuade* or to *provoke* me to *do* or *say* something that might be improved to my Ruin. When these *little Arts* proved unsuccessful, it was thought proper to fall upon me again in *Print*, to have recourse to the meanest *personal Reflections*, and affirm such *Facts* as are directly *false* in themselves, and have no manner of relation to the present Controversy: To assure the World that *All I have asserted* is *idle, improbable and unsupported*; that being myself full of *Wickedness, Malice and Falshood*, my only Intent is to *vilify, asperse and defame* one of the greatest and best *Ministers* that any Nation

Cleomenes's Letter,
Mr. R. M.
Daily Courant, most publick Examinations, and had his whole
etc.

Conduct approved, after the strictest Scrutinies; That there is not a Man of Honour in the Nation, but must look upon me as a most base and infamous Defamer; that I have offer'd the highest Injury in my Power to a Person of the greatest Dignity and Worth, and in a way that must be the utmost Abhorrence of every honest Mind; that I ought to be
treated

treated as a *vile Incendiary*; that all I have asserted, is *malicious, scandalous, false* and *utterly groundless*; that *I bring a Charge before the People where it cannot be proved*; but at the same time *desert it in the only proper Place*, and at a *Time when it ought to be proved*; that *I make use of sneaking and shuffling Prevarications*; that *I dare not bring Things to the Test of Inquiry*, but am afraid they should be examined, though under the *View of a most impartial and indulgent Judge, viz. his present Majesty*.

I have transcribed but a *small Part* of the many *Compliments* and *kind Things* which have been shower'd upon me from the Press, by the *humble Servants* and *faithful Adherents* of a certain Noble Person; in answer to all which, and much more of the same Kind, I only beg leave to ask one short Question: Who would not imagine, upon reading all these *Invectives* and *Songs of Triumph*, that I had been called upon to make good my Charge, by that Prince who I firmly believe (as my Adversaries say) is a *most impartial and indulgent Judge*, and that this just and good Prince, having

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examined my Proofs, had found that my whole Charge (to use my Adversaries Words once more) was *malicious, false* and *utterly groundless*? I say, who would not imagine, from all the Invectives before-mentioned, that *This was the Case?* And yet I cannot find that any of those worthy Gentlemen who have wrote against me, have thought proper to assert *It is so.* Whenever *This* happens, it will then be a proper Time for these ingenious Authors to spread all the Sails of their Eloquence; but till then, I should think, it might be no less politick than *decent*, to omit a few of *their Rhetorical Flourishes.*

As to my *Understanding*, I find those Gentlemen who have done me the Honour to make me the Subject of their Satyrs, do not intirely agree; nay, that the very *same Writer* is not always consistent with *himself* upon this Head: Sometimes I am represented, as Mr. Scrubb has justly observed,* to be *A dangerous Orator*, to be *One against whose persuasive, though delusive Arts People*

* Page 17.

cannot

cannot be too much upon their Guard; to be *A Person*, who knows how to move the *Passions*, and by an uncommon Eloquence, to steal into the *Hearts*, and ingross the *Affections* of my Readers. At other Times the Publick is told I am a *stupid Author*, who scribble on without *Meaning* or *Design*; who is qualified for nothing but *clean Straw* and a *dark Room*; whose very *Writings* are a sufficient Demonstration that I had no manner of *Injury* done me, when I was represented to the World as a *Person* mad and distracted; that my *Writings* are even sufficient to satisfy a *Jury* on this Point, who should be legally *Impannelled* on a *Commission* of *Enquiry*. I am sometimes said to be a *dangerous Person*, and a *vile Incendiary*; at other times I am declared to be an *Ape*, a *Coxcomb*, a *Buffoon*, a very weak *Creature*, an insignificant *Reptile*, and a most *despicable Tool*.

Cleomenes's
Letter,
Mr. R. M.
Daily Courant.

I am in very little Pain about any Censure the World shall please to pass upon my *Understanding* or *Abilities*; but I confess I would willingly be thought an *honest Man*, and have all my Fellow-Subjects do me the Justice to believe, that I do most

E 3 sincerely

sincerely and heartily wish to see Old *England*, my native Country, in an happy and a flourishing Condition. Since, therefore, I am attacked with so much Virulence; since I am represented as one of the *worst of Men*, and as an *Enemy to my Country*, I conceive there is no Law either *Human* or *Divine*, by virtue of which I can be reasonably restrained from saying something in my own Defence. I shall return no Part of the *ill Language* I have received, yet if while I am defending myself, I should happen to utter *some Truths* which those Gentlemen, who have thus fallen upon me, do not much care to hear; I hope that even in the midst of their Resentments, they will please to remember, *They began the Attack*. As to my Readers, I am far from desiring any of them to become Parties, or blindly to engage in my particular Quarrel: If any of them have done me the Honour to conceive a favourable Opinion of me, whenever it shall appear that my *Complaints* were *groundless*, or that I have presumed to *assert* what I cannot *prove*, I do most readily grant, that they ought immediately to give me up: But then, till this does appear,

appear, I humbly hope they will continue to put a charitable and candid Interpretation, both upon my Words and Actions. I beg leave to repeat once again, that while I am openly and virulently abused, for *no other Reason*, which appears as yet, but my having *Petitioned my King*, which every *Englishman* has a *Right* to do, I think I may reasonably hope, that every *honest Man* in *England* must be convinced, I am abused unjustly; and that if once it shall come to be an established Doctrine, That *It is Criminal even to Petition our King against one of his Servants*, from that Moment our Liberties are at an End. *Machiavel*, in his Discourses upon the first Decade of *Livy*, has employ'd one whole Chapter to shew, that *It is absolutely necessary for the Conservation of any State*, that any *Man who is a Subject of that State*, may be securely accused. Since I delivered my Petition, I am very sensible in how *ticklish* a Situation I have been, and yet I humbly trust, that I have done nothing on one Side, which can look like a mean and cowardly deserting my Charge, nor any thing on the other Side, which

can be interpreted into a bold Intrusion upon my Prince, or saucily presuming to prescribe a *Time* to my legal and dread Sovereign. I will therefore hope, that my Cause, as it stands at present, is such, as every Man of *Honour* and *Sense* may venture to defend without a Blush.

The Assertion, that I appeal to the Publick on the *same Heads* I have petitioned his Majesty, is false in Fact. I defy my greatest Enemies to prove, that I have as yet communicated the Contents of that Memorial I delivered to his Majesty to any other Person, and much less to the Publick. *That*, therefore still lies before a proper Judge; but since I have been *publickly* abused, for having delivered my Memorial, I *must* and *do* appeal to the Publick, whether or no I do really deserve all that *ill Language*, and those severe *Invectives*, which upon this Occasion have been so plentifully bestowed upon me.

I am determined to answer the *great Cleomenes* under the Character he himself has assumed; I shall talk to him upon *Spartan Prin-*

Principles, and as one educated under the *Discipline* of *Lycurgus*. If my addressing myself to him in this Manner, should, in the Opinion of his Friends, carry an Air of Raillery, they will, I hope, please to consider that their Hero should not have taken a *Part* upon him he is unable to support. I must confess, it is with the utmost Indignation, that I have often observed some of the *greatest Names* of Antiquity assumed by Men, who plainly discover in their Writings, that they are very far from being acquainted with the *Manners* and *Customs*, the *Policy* or *Government* of the *Greeks* and *Romans*. Before the Statesmen of *this Age*, take the Liberty of decking themselves with such Plumes, I should humbly advise them to observe the Rules which *Horace* has given upon another Occasion ;

— *Vos exemplaria Græca
Nocturnâ versate manu versate diurnâ.*

And again,

— *Versate diu quid ferre recusent
Quid Valeant humeri* —

A *Modern Statesman*, who presents himself to the Publick under the Name of an antient *Hero* or *Philosopher*, may properly be said to cloath himself with the Skin of a dead *Lyon*; but then his *Honour* ought to remember, before he appears thus accoutred, that this Stratagem was not formerly very successful to a certain *Politician* who made use of it.

It was thought among the Antients, no less than *Sacrilege* to rob or violate the Sepulchres of the Dead. I am afraid that the *Principles* on which we act in *this Country* and *this Age*, are almost directly contrary to those which influenced the *Greeks* and *Romans*; methinks, therefore, we ought not to make so very familiar with those illustrious Shades; and that while we are Strangers to their *Virtues*, it is a Sort of *Sacrilege* to assume their *Names*. The reigning *Passion* among the great Men in *Greece* and *Italy*, was *The Love of Liberty and their Country*. In those Times, no Man was esteemed or thought *Honourable*, but in proportion to his having given more or

or less Proofs of his being actuated by this glorious *Passion*. Money neither purchased Reputation or Respect. The Man himself, and not his *Fortune*, was always consider'd. *Epaminondas, Aristides, Phocion, Philopamen, Poplicola, Quintius Cincinnatus, Menenius Agrippa, C. Fabricius, Emilius Papus, and Curius*, Men, whose Names make so great a Figure in History, who discharged the most important Posts in their respective Countries, who were so often Dictators, Consuls, and Generals; Every one of these *real Patriots*, hardly saved enough out of all their Triumphs and great Trusts, to pay for their own Funerals; They were most of them buried, and their Children bred up and married at the Charge of the Publick. It is literally true, that the *Porter* of a certain Statesman now living, is worth more Money than *all* these great Men put together, left behind them.*

Lycur-

* In the latter Times of the Commonwealth, when Rome became Mistress of so large a Part of the known World, her great Men began to take more care of their private Fortunes; yet even in those Times, they were extreamly moderate: *Paulus Emilius*, who conquer'd all Macedonia, overthrew the House of *Alexander*, led *Perseus*

Lycurgus, by a most masterly Stroke of Policy, found a Way to exterminate the very *Desire of Riches* among the *Spartans*: They not only thought it the most scandalous of Crimes, to amass a large Estate in the *Administration* of Publick Affairs; but look'd upon it as a Piece of Covetousness, hardly pardonable, for one Man to possess more Wealth than his Neighbours, tho' it was left him by his Ancestors, and had been

Perseus in Triumph, and brought so vast a Quantity of Money into the *Publick Treasury*, that the *Romans* (according to *Plutarch*) never paid *any Taxes* till the first Year of the War between *Anthony* and *Cæsar*; (that is during the Space of One hundred and Twenty-five Years) I say, *Paulus Emilius* left no greater Estate among his Children than Three hundred and Seventy thousand Drachmas, amounting in *English Money* to Eleven thousand Nine hundred Forty-seven Pounds Eighteen Shillings and Four pence. He permitted his *own Sons*, who had behaved with the utmost Gallantry in this Expedition, and were great Lovers of Learning, to take no other Part of all the Spoil, but the Library of King *Perseus*. He only presented *Tubero* his *Son-in-Law*, in Recompence of his extraordinary Valour, with a Bowl, which weighed Five Pounds; and History tells us, that this was the very first Piece of Plate that was ever seen in the *Elian Family*.

Scipio Africanus had a pretty good *Paternal Estate*; which he did not, indeed, *Impair* in the Service of his Country; but he very truly told the People in one of his Speeches, That *he had got nothing but a Surname by driving Hannibal out of Italy, and adding Africa to the Roman Empire.*

honestly

honestly acquired : Several of their Kings and most eminent Citizens freely brought their whole Substance into the Publick Stock, or distributed their private Estates among their Countrymen. It must be confessed, that Actions of this Kind, were not so common in other Parts of *Greece*, as in the City of *Sparta* ;* but when the Cause of their Country demanded their Assistance, or when they were in Hopes to restore *Liberty* to any other City, oppressed either by a foreign or domestick Tyrant, there was scarce a Man who made any Figure in *Greece*, who was not ready to embark and venture his whole Fortune § upon such an Occasion.

I am

* *Athens* was the Rival of *Sparta*, and was almost constantly contending with her which should be the Mistress of *Greece*. It is however certain, that the *Athenians* themselves often made a sort of *tacit Confession*, that their Vertue was not equal to that of the *Lacedemonians*. Even *Cimon*, in his Orations to his Countrymen, when he found himself obliged to reprimand them for some Piece of ill Conduct, would often tell them, “*The Lacedemonians would not do thus.*”

§ Many Instances might be given of this ; but I shall only mention *Aratus* of *Sicyon*, who, soon after he had, with great Hazard and Resolution, freed his own City from the Tyranny of *Nicocles*, was informed that *Antigonus*

I am afraid *this Sort of Publick Spirit* is so far lost in the present Age, that some of our greatest *seeming Patriots** would hardly be persuaded to lessen their own private Fortunes, though they were assured of attaining those Ends which they openly profess to aim at; and that we have many a Man of Fortune among us, who, while he is haranguing in Clubs, and other Publick

gonus had, by Treachery, flung a Garrison into that famous Citadel seated on the *Isthmus*; which united the Continent of *Greece* to *Peloponnesus*, and commanded the City of *Corinth*. He resolved immediately at all Hazards, to restore their *Liberty* to the *Corinthians*: To raise Money for this Purpose, unknown to any Man, he pawn'd his own Plate, and even his Wife's Jewels; and did all this to carry on an Enterprize in which he had no manner of *personal Interest*, and was sure to run the greatest Danger. Such was the Generosity of the antient *Grecians*.

* The Patriots of antient *Greece* and *Rome*, were never wanting in Acts of *Generosity* and *Benevolence* towards Mankind. *Cato*, when an Estate fell to him by the Death of a Relation, worth no less than an Hundred Talents, turn'd it all into ready Money, and kept this Sum by him on purpose to accommodate Men of Merit who were his Friends; to whom he made no manner of Scruple of lending it without Interest; and even to serve some of them, suffer'd his own Land, and Slaves, to be mortgaged to the Publick Treasury. *Cimon of Athens* (whom we shall mention hereafter) went still farther; and innumerable Instances might be produced of the same Kind.

Assem-

Assemblies, against the flagrant Corruption and barespaced Partialities of the present Times, would hardly be content to keep an *Horse*, a *Wench*, or a *Footman*, less than he now does, upon Condition to have every Grievance redrefs'd which he daily complains of with so much Reason and Eloquence : We seem to be somewhat in the same Condition in which the *Romans* are represented, when they were losing all that *Power* and *Reputation*, which the Virtues of their Ancestors had acquired. *Illo Tempore duo Maxima Mala Reipublicæ incubuerunt Luxuries & Avaritia.* At that Time (says the Historian) the Commonwealth labour'd under the two greatest Plagues it could be infested with, *LUXURY* and *AVARICE*. The Observation is fine: *Avarice* is always an *Insatiable Thirst after Money*; but then there are *two Sorts* of *Avarice*: The *first* hoards up whatever it can seize upon; The *latter* makes it flow through all the Canals which *Luxury* presents: This Sort of *Avarice* is therefore very consistent, even with the highest *Luxury*. Either of these Kinds of *Avarice*, is infinitely prejudicial to the Publick:

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To determine which is *most* so, might, perhaps, be pretty difficult.

I am far from undertaking so romantick a Task, as to persuade my Country-Men to have the same Opinion of *Money* with the ancient *Spartans*; yet I must confess, that I would, if possible, convince them, that the following Maxim is as true and as demonstrable, as that *Two and Two make Four, viz. That there neither is, nor ever was such a Thing in Nature, as for the same Man to be Honest and Avaritious.* Whatever therefore may be a Man's *Pretensions*, In whatever *Shape* he may appear, with whatever *Solemnity* in his *Looks*, or *Formality* in his *Habit*, I would humbly advise them carefully to examine whether the *Plague-Spot* of *Avarice* be, or be not, to be discovered upon him. If it be, they may rest fully assured, that there is no *Work* so *dirty*, no *Job* so *shameful*, but such a Man is always ready to undertake, provided only he may be *paid* for his Pains, and tolerably assured he shall not be discovered. Whenever the Heart of a Man is possessed with this insatiable Thirst

Thirst after Money, he will certainly turn a deaf Ear to the loudest Calls of *Honour*, *Conscience* or *Compassion*, if ever they offer to thwart what he imagines to be for his Interest.

I beg leave, once again, to repeat, that I am very far from even recommending to my Country-Men, that high *Contempt for Wealth* which the antient *Spartans* shewed. We are a *Maritime Power*, and a *Trading Nation*; if we will but make use of those Advantages which Providence has given us over our Neighbours, it is demonstrable, that we must become Masters of a considerable Part of the Wealth of the World: I could heartily wish we were in Possession of a much larger Share of it than we are at present; and yet at the same time, methinks, I would have an *Englishman* scorn to do any thing excessively Wicked and Base, even tho' he might get an Estate by it; I would likewise have him, whenever he became Master of a Plentiful Fortune, make such an Use of it, as might convince the World he was not altogether unworthy of the Blessing.

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But though I do not think that the *Spartan* Contempt of Wealth is either suitable to the Genius of the present Age, or entirely agreeable to the Situation and Constitution of *Great Britain*, There is another Part of the *Spartan* Policy which no Government, no Nation upon Earth, that would be either *Great* or *Happy*, can too closely imitate: I will even venture to add, that every Government must be either *Powerful* or *Contemptible*, *Fixed* or *Fluctuating*, *Scandalous* or *Honourable*, in proportion as it either approaches nearer, or is more distant from this Part of the *Spartan* Constitution: What I mean, is the infinite Care which the *Spartans* took of the *Education* of their *Youth*, of diligently observing which way their *Genius* and *Talents* lay, and afterwards of putting them into such Posts, *Civil* or *Military*, without any manner of *Respect* to their *Birth* or *Quality*, as might make those *Talents*, which *Providence* had given them, most serviceable to the Commonwealth.

The *Spartan* Education was deservedly famous throughout all *Greece*, and even in other Countries ; * The Manner of it was thus : In *Sparta* no Boy was educated after the particular *Fancy* of his own Parents, nor was their Partiality suffer'd to determine what their Son was *fit* for : Every Male Child in *Sparta* was looked upon as a
Trea-

* *Pyrrhus*, at the Request of *Cleonymus* King of *Sparta*, a weak Prince whom the *Lacedemonians* had deposed, for endeavouring to make himself Absolute, marched against *Sparta*. He promised *Cleonymus* that he would restore him to his Throne; but in reality resolved to conquer all *Peloponnesus* for himself; and fell into that Country at the Head of a powerful Army: The *Lacedemonian* Ambassadors, who were sent to know what he meant by this Proceeding, found him at *Megalopolis*; *Pyrrhus* assured them that he only appeared in *Greece*, followed by his Army, as a Champion in the *Cause of Liberty*; that he was determined to restore all those Cities to their Freedom which *Antigonus* had enslaved; but that he was so far from designing any Injury to the *Lacedemonians*, that if he might be permitted, he resolved to send his own Sons to *Sparta*, being very sensible that if they might receive their Education in that Illustrious School, and be brought up in the Manners and Discipline of the *Lacedemonians*, they would have an infinite Advantage over all other Kings, be a real Blessing to their Subjects, and consequently become the most renowned Princes in all the World. The *Spartans* knowing themselves to be justly Famous in all Countries for the Education of their Youth, could not but believe him; nor would be persuaded that *Pyrrhus* wa

Treasure which the Publick had an undoubted Right to ; That no great Genius might be lost, either for want of being *observed*, or properly *assisted*, all Boys were educated alike. Some of the wisest and oldest Men in the City made it their particular Business almost daily to visit the Publick Schools, and to observe what Progress every Youth made in his *Learning* and his *Exercises*. The Boys were sometimes drawn out Naked before them, that they might the better judge of the Proportion of their Limbs, and Strength of their Bodies : They often raised Disputes and Quarrels purposely among them, and set them together by the Ears, that they

Enemy, till he had actually enter'd *Laconia*, and began to *plunder* and *waste* all the Country : By this Piece of *scandalous* Dissimulation, which still remains the most notorious Blemish in the whole Character of this great General, and for which all his own *Wit* could not afterwards find a *plausible Excuse*, he found the City of *Sparta* in so defenceless a Condition, that all *Greece* looked upon it as lost.

The *Lacedemonian* Education was in so high Repute even at *Athens*, that *Phocion* himself, and several other *Athenians*, sent their Sons to *Sparta* to *reform* their *Manners*; and *Simonides* gives the City of *Sparta* the remarkable Epithet of Δαμασιψεγθ, *The Tamer of Men.*

might

might see in what manner, whether with his *Tongue* or his *Fist*, by *Stratagem* or by *Force*, every Boy would defend his Property, or maintain his Pretensions. From his particular Manner of Behaviour, they formed a Judgment in what sort of Post he might be most serviceable to the Publick, and when he came to be a Man, he was disposed of accordingly. My Readers must collect from this Account, that at *Sparta*, *Real Merit*, and the proper *Qualifications* to discharge a Post, were the only effectual Means to obtain one; and it is very certain, that among this *wise* and *virtuous* People, nothing would have appear'd so *monstrous* or so heinous a Crime against the Commonwealth, as for any Man to have attempted to *buy* or to have exposed to *Sale* a *Post in the Government*.

It would have been thought no less *Scandalous*, if any *Spartan*, who was really qualified for a Post *himself*, should have made use of that Interest which his Station gave him, to introduce all his *own Relations*, however *worthless*, into Places of *Power* or *Profit*; since such a Proceeding would

have rendered them not only a *constant Charge*, but a *constant Disgrace* to the Commonwealth.*

It was this most excellent Discipline, and a strict Observation of the Rule above-mentioned, which made the *Spartan Government* last almost *Eight hundred*

* Every private *Spartan* seemed to be so thoroughly sensible, how necessary it was for the *Good of his Country*, that all *Places* should be given to those Men who had the most Merit, that one *Pedaretus* having lost a *Post of Honour*, for which he was a Candidate, and into which *three Hundred* other *Spartans* were chose, return'd to his House transported with Joy; and being ask'd by some of his Neighbours what was the Occasion of so much unusual *Gayety*, *I am infinitely pleased* (says he) *to find that there are in Sparta at least three Hundred better Men than myself*. The *Spartan's* Notion in this Particular, was the same with that of *Pittacus*, one of the Seven Wise Men of *Greece*, who, at the celebrated Entertainment made by *Periander*, where all those *Sages* were present; being ask'd *What Form of Government he conceived to be the best and most perfect?* replied, *That Government in which all Posts of Honour or Profit are given to Men of the most Merit, and such as are best qualified to discharge them*. This Answer of the Sage's was highly applauded at that time by the illustrious Company, and thought truly worthy to be transmitted to Posterity.

Years* from the Time it was first founded by *Lycurgus*, Five hundred Years of which time the *Lacedemonians* were the Masters of *Greece*; Nothing could withstand the Force of their Arms, and the City of *Sparta* fell at last, only because she extended her Conquests too far, and grasped at a little too much: § She fell like *Rome* strictly speaking, *Suis viribus, by her own Weight and Strength*; it being often true with relation to a State, that *Ipsa nocet moles*; yet when the *Achaeans* and *Megalopolitans*,

* Cicero in one of his Orations, observes, that the *Lacedemonians* were the only People in the World, who had kept their *Discipline* and their *Laws* sacred and unalterable for so great a Number of Years. *Soli toto orbe terrarum Septingentos jam annos amplius unis moribus & nunquam mutatis legibus vivunt.* Cic.

§ The *Lacedemonians* in this Respect, acted contrary to the Policy of *Lycurgus*. It is evident, that though the Design of that Lawgiver was to render *Sparta* invincible, yet that he never intended she should make Conquests upon the Continent of *Greece*, and much less that she should send her Victorious Armies into the *Persean Empire*. *Lycurgus* was so much afraid of having the *Spartan* Manners corrupted by the Vices and Luxury of their Neighbours, that though *Laconia* was very well situated for Shipping, he expressly forbade his *Spartans* to have any Trade or Commerce with other Nations. They observed this Injunction for some Ages; nor ever aimed at acquiring the *Dominion of the Sea*, till after the Defeat of *Xerxes*.

her implacable Enemies, had at last got her down, so much were they apprehensive, that should she retain her own *Laws* and *Manners*, she would soon recover her former *Strength*; so greatly did they fear her Youth, who were growing up and educated under the old *Spartan Discipline*, that they could never think themselves secure, till they had obliged her, by downright *Force*, utterly to abolish the *Laws of Lycurgus*, and to educate her Youth like other *Grecian Cities*: This was called, with great Propriety, *Cutting the Sinews of the Spartan Commonwealth*; and is justly branded by all Writers, as one of the most cruel and inhuman Actions we find any where recorded in History: And surely nothing can be a greater Proof of the Excellency of *Lycurgus's Institutions*, or of the sound Policy upon which his *Laws* were founded, than this Dread which the neighbouring States had conceived of *Sparta*, while she kept up to that Discipline which he had established: A Discipline so highly admired by the Antients, that *Plato*, *Diogenes*, *Zeno*, *Plutarch*, and, in a Word, almost every Author who has wrote upon

Govern-

Government, has looked upon that Form of it established by *Lycurgus*, to have been the most perfect and compleat; and has accordingly taken it for his own Model: But as I design in these Sheets to give my Readers some Idea of the *Spartan* Constitution, it would not be fair, if I should conceal from them the strongest Objections that have been made to several Parts of it.

Two Things have been more especially censured in the Institutions of *Lycurgus*, and I shall say something to each of them. Several learned Divines have fallen upon him with great Severity, for having strictly commanded, by one of his Laws, That all Children who were born with any visible *Defect* or *Deformity* in their Limbs, should be immediately flung out into the Fields, or put to Death.

Lycurgus was of Opinion, that such Children would never be fit for Soldiers, and that the *Weakness* and *Deformity* of their *Bodies* would soon extend to their *Minds*, and create in them so much *Envy* and *Ill Will* towards the rest of their Fellow-Citizens, as would make them ready to commit

mit the most *base* and *villainous Actions*. He was likewise apprehensive, that *deformed Persons* might propagate a Race like *themselves*; and that the very Sight of such Persons, must be highly Prejudicial to pregnant Women, and frequently occasion *monstrous Births*. For these Reasons *Lycurgus* ordered such Infants to be slain, whose Lives he imagined, if they were suffered to grow up, would be *burthen-some to themselves* and *hurtful to the Commonwealth*. I am not sure, that a Law of this kind was in Force in any other Part of *Greece* besides *Sparta*; and yet *Dryden*, who was pretty well versed in the Customs of the Antients, seems to intimate, that there was something like it in *Thebes*; when in his *OEdipus* he makes *Eurydice* say to *Creon*, even though he was Brother to the Queen,

Nature herself shrunk back when thou wert born,
And cry'd, The Work's not mine — — —
The Midwife stood agast; and when she saw
Thy Mountain-Back, and thy distorted Legs,
Thy Face it self,
Half minted with the Royal Stamp of Man,
And half o'ercome with Beast, stood doubting long,
Whose

*Whose Right in thee were more :
And knew not if To burn thee in the Flames,
Were not the holier Work.*

The same Lady tells the same Creon soon after, that the *Deformity of his Person* was but a Type of the *Deformity of his Mind*; and even that the *first* of them was occasioned by the *latter*.

*Thy crooked Mind within, hunch'd out thy Back,
And wander'd in thy Limbs :*

After these Words, she immediately adds,

— *To thy own Kind
Make Love, if thou canst find it in the World ;
And seek not from our Sex to raise an Off-spring,
Which mingled with the rest would tempt the Gods
To cut off Human Kind.*

Homer, after having described the *Deformity of Therites's Person*, seems to make a burning and *implacable Envy* towards every thing that was *Excellent or Praise-worthy*, to be a sort of *natural Consequence* of such his *Deformity*.

Dryden

Dryden describes *Creon* above-mentioned, (and I am afraid he copies too truly after *Nature* in this Particular) full of the *blackest Thoughts*; conscious that he is a *Villain*, and yet still persisting in his *Wickedness*: He says in one of his Soliloquies,

—————'Tis true, I am
What she has told me, an Offence to Sight :
My Body opens inward to my Soul,
And lets in Day, to make my Vices seen,
By all discerning Eyes.

In another Scene, the same *Creon* vainly wishes, that he could breath his *Soul* into another Man's *Body*, till at last in a Fit of *Rage* and *Despair*, he runs into downright *Blasphemy* and *Prophaneness*, and tells the Gods, that since they did not think fit to form *him* after their *Image*, he wishes he could make *them* after his *own*. What Notion we of this Island have of *deformed Persons*, appears pretty plainly by our common *English Proverb*, *Beware of him whom God hath marked*; and it is very observable, that because *Richard the Third* was a *Monster of Ingratitude and Perfidiousness*,

diousness, the common People fancied he must have had a *Hump-Back*, and accordingly distinguished him by the Title of *Crook-Bick'd Richard*, though for any thing that appears in History, his Majesty was as strait in the Shoulders as any of his Subjects. It must however be confess'd, that there has been now and then, an Instance of a Great and Generous Soul, which though it has been shut up in a wretched and deformed Carcass, has retained a Benevolence towards the *human Species*. *Aesop* is a remarkable Example of what I am saying: The whole Life of that most excellent Person, notwithstanding his *mean Birth* and *frightful Figure*, was employ'd for the *Benefit* and *Service* of Mankind. We are told, that he repaid the *Cruelties* of his Master *Xanthus* with the most *faithful* and *beneficial Services*; That he preserved his Native Country *Samos*, when *Crœsus* had determined to destroy it; and lastly, that he was so far from thirsting after a mean *Revenge* for the Injuries he received, that when *Eunus* his adopted Son, had, with the blackest Ingratitude, made an Attempt upon his Life, *Aesop* not

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not only forgave the intended Parricide, but preserved the Person who would have murdered him, from the Punishment he must otherwise have suffered, and took him again into his Favour. I ought not however, perhaps, to omit mentioning, that Dr. Bently has endeavoured to prove, that *Æsop's Deformity* is a meer *Fiction*, and that this divine Writer was really a *comely* and a *clean-limb'd* Man : Whatever *Æsop* was in his *Person*, *Lycurgus's* Notion of *deform'd People* is generally *true*, and is most certainly founded upon Nature. The best-humour'd Man alive can hardly imagine, how *severe* a *Trial* it would be of his *good Nature*, if his *Soul* was cased in a *Body*, whose *Deformity* attracted all Eyes, distinguished him from the *Rest* of his Species, and debarred him from some of the most *elegant Pleasures*, and *greatest Satisfactions* in human Life.

Another thing which several *great* and *good* Men have found fault with in the Institutions of *Lycurgus*, is, His Indulgence to both Sexes, in *Cases of Love*, and the Liberties he allowed the *Spartan Ladies* :

Aristotle

Aristotle in his *Politicks*, when he is examining the *Spartan Constitution*, seems to condemn their Law-giver upon this Head.

Lycurgus, who had nothing so much in View, as to have the Commonwealth of *Sparta* composed of Men of *healthy Bodies* and *sound Intellects*, look'd upon it as a sort of Crime against the *State*, to prevent two accomplish'd Persons of different Sexes, who happened to like one another, from coming together ; because he imagined the Commerce between them would probably produce such a Child, as might one Day be an *Honour* and a *Credit* to the *City of Sparta*. *Horace* seems to be pretty much of this Opinion, when he says,

*Fortes Creantur fortibus & bonis:
Est in juvencis est in equis patrum
Virtus : nec imbellem feroce
Progenerant aquilæ columbam.*

Aristotle himself, if I am not much mistaken, says somewhere, Ἐξ αἰαθῶν αἴαθοι ; and acknowledges in another Part of his Writings, that The best Education can

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can do nothing more than Polish and Improve what the *Greeks* called *εὐγένια*; that is, *A good natural Disposition*. A Man of Merit in *Sparta*, if he saw a married Woman, who made a strong Impression upon his Fancy, in plain Terms, if he fell in Love with her, made no Scruple to desire her Husband's Leave to beget a Child upon her, and such a Favour was seldom refused. However odd this may seem to some of my Readers, I must acquaint them, that the great *Cato* made no Difficulty to grant this very Favour to his Friend *Hortensius*, who happened to take a liking to his Wife *Martia*, though *Cato* himself loved her with great Tenderness: But this Affair was carried still farther among the *Lacedemonians*: If a Lady in *Sparta* found she had married a disagreeable Fellow, she usually fixed her Affections upon some other Man, who was Master of those Accomplishments her Husband wanted, and took care to let her Favourite know the good Opinion she had of him. The Commerce between them was esteem'd no manner of Disgrace, either to the Lady herself, or the Person she had chosen to be

be her Gallant. I cannot illustrate this better, than by the following Story.

Chelidonis, a young Lady of great Quality, Beauty and Merit, was married to *Cleonymus* King of *Sparta*, a weak and a disagreeable Man: The young Lady finding her Husband incapable of such a Passion, as she could not help thinking she was capable of kindling in a Man of Sense; soon fixed her Affections upon a Person named *Acrotatus*, who was generally thought as accomplished a Man as most in *Sparta*. The Intreague between these Lovers, who thought themselves perfectly happy in each other, was no manner of Secret. In the mean time *Cleonymus* was weak enough to form a Design, to subvert the *Spartan* Constitution, and make himself an *Absolute Prince*: I have already described him to be a Person not very proper for such an Enterprise. The *Lacedæmonians* soon discovered what he was aiming at, and immediately deposed and banished him: In this Extremity he fled to *Pyrrhus* King of *Macedon*, and implored his Assistance, for the Recovery of his Throne. *Pyrrhus*, with a

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secret Intent, to get *Laconia* for himself, marched to *Sparta*, accompanied by the banished King, and at the Head of a powerful Army. He found means to come unexpectedly upon the *Lacedæmonians*, while they imagined him their Friend, and were not prepared to resist him. He therefore thought himself very sure of taking *Sparta* by Assault, a Place which had no Walls,* and which the neighbouring Cities already look'd upon as lost ; *Acrotatus*, who commanded a small Body of 300 *Spartans*, fought now not only for his *Country*, but his *Mistress*, and gave signal Proofs of great *Presence of Mind*, a most *dexterous Conduct*, and an *undaunted Courage*. When the Assault was over, and the *Macedonians* repulsed, we are expressly told, That the *Spartan Ladies* (though not without a small Spice of *Envy*) universally Congratulated *Chelidonis* upon the excellent *Judgment* she had shewn in her *Choice of a Lover* ; while the old Men followed *Acro-*

* *Lycurgus* would suffer no Walls to be built round *Sparta* ; but declared, That the *Valour* of her Inhabitants should make her *Impregnable*.

tatus through the Streets of *Sparta*, crying out, *Go on, Acrotatus, enjoy Chelidonis, and get fine Boys for the Service of thy Country.*

Such were the Sentiments of the *Lacedæmonians*: *Adultery* was a Crime unknown among them, upon which Head an antient Author tells this Story.

A *Lacedæmonian*, whose Affairs obliged him to go out of *Greece*, fell into some Company who were very inquisitive about the Constitution of *Sparta*; one of them among other Particulars, desired to know *What was the Punishment for Adulterers?* The *Spartan* readily replied, *They had no Adulterers in Lacedæmon*; but upon the Querist's persisting to know in what Manner he believed an Adulterer would be punished, that should happen to be detected? *I believe, says the Spartan, our Senate* * *would order the Criminal to give the*

* The *Lacedæmonian* Senate consisted of Twenty-eight noble *Spartans*, elected by the People. The Ephori or chief Magistrates in *Sparta*, who had a particular Eye

the Person he had injured, a Bull with a Neck long enough to stand upon the Continent of Greece, and drink out of a River in Peloponnesus : Upon the Inquisitive Gentleman's seeming to apprehend, that it was absolutely impossible to find such a Bull ; Sir, says the Spartan, Give me leave to tell you, that 'tis full as impossible to find an Adulterer in Lacedæmon.

I must not, however, suffer my Readers to imagine, there was any such thing as

Eye upon the Conduit of their Kings, were five in Number, and always chosen out of the Body of the People. The Power of these Magistrates was very Great ; but then they were chosen Annually. We see therefore, that in Sparta there was the Power of their Kings, the Power of their Nobles or Senate, and the Power of the People or Ephori. In like manner, among the Romans, there was the Power of the Consuls, of the Senate and of the Tribunes of the People : And our own Constitution consists of our King, our Lords, and our Commons. I think I might assert, without being Partial to my Country, that if a few Faults were mended in the British Constitution, or rather, if a few Corruptions and Abuses which have crept into it were rooted out, it would be the best and happiest Constitution of any in Europe. It is very remarkable that Aristotle, in his Treatise of Politicks, wrote above Two thousand Years since, after having considered the Advantages and Inconveniences of a Monarchy, an Aristocracy, and a Democracy, seems to think the best Constitution might be formed out of these three Sorts of Government wisely mixed together.

open Lewdness tolerated in *Sparta*. There was not a City in the World, where there were so few Signs of it. By the Institution of *Lycurgus*, it was reckoned *Scandalous*, and was a Sort of *Crime*, even in a married Couple, not to contrive their Meetings, when the Affair was *Love*, in such a Manner, that not one of the Family, among whom they lived, might suspect their being together. *Dryden*, in allusion to this *Custom*, makes his *Spartan* Hero give the following Account of his begetting his favourite Son, who was put to Death while a Boy, but is every where described as a meer *Prodigy*, both for his *Parts* and his *Courage*.

————— *Stealing Home,*
According to my Country's modest Use,
I found my Ægiatis just undrest,
Wearying the Gods with Vows for my Return :
My Transport was so great, I could not stay ;
But kis'd, and took her trembling in my Arms,
And, in that Fury of my Love, I stamp't
This Image of my Soul.

These Lines are the more beautiful, as they are warranted by History. We are

told, that *Cleomenes*, in the Height of his Successes, used sometimes to *steal Incognito* to *Sparta*, and pay a short Visit to his beloved *Aegiatis*.

Lycurgus, as I have observed, found out a Method, to give the *Air* of a constant *Intreague* even to a *married State*: He imagined, that by laying Difficulties in their Way, and preventing married People from enjoying each others Company as often as they pleased, he should be able to keep *Desire* constantly *alive*, and make them always continue in the *happy State of Lovers*; That when they could contrive a Meeting, they would come together with that *Ardour* and *Spirit*, which he conceived was absolutely necessary to form a Child worthy to be a Member of the *Spartan Republick*: If we may judge from the Figure the *Lacedemonians* made in *Greece*, this great Law-giver was not altogether mistaken in his Politicks. What I have here mentioned, is perhaps, an higher *Refinement* upon the Passion of *Love*, and a greater Piece of *Politeness*, than any Custom that obtains at present in any Part
of

of Europe. It is certain, that great Numbers of married People become *contemptible* in the Eyes of the *World*, and *disagreeable* to each other, from those constant and shocking *Familiarities* which every Day pass between them. I believe I may venture to add, that their mutual Affections are oftener destroyed by such *little Offences* against *Decency* and *good Manners*, as they know not how to tell one another of, than by any *flagrant* or *notorious Faults*; and I should enlarge a little more upon this Point, if I had not already handled it in the 506th Paper of the 7th Volume of the SPECTATORS.*

I cannot, however, disimiss the Subject without taking Notice how extreamly *Delicate* and Circumspect the Grecians in general were upon the Article of *Marriage*. When a Man of Quality in *Greece* had a Daughter to dispose of, he expected that those who pretended to her, should come and live with him for some considerable

* See Page 124 in the 7th Volume of the small Edition of the *Spectators*.

time, that he might not take their *good* or *ill* Qualities upon *Trust*, or meerly from common Fame; but might himself be a Witness of their manner of Life, and enabled by narrowly observing their Conduct upon all Occurrences, to form a right Judgment of their several Abilities and Inclinations: In pursuance of this Custom, *Clisthenes*, who reigned in *Sicyon*, and was the richest Prince in all *Greece*, having an only Daughter to dispose of, had thirteen *Grecian* Gentlemen who resided at his Court for a Twelvemonth together, and every one of whom had Hopes of becoming his Son-in-Law. There was one among them, who in all *Tournaments* and *Bodily Exercises*, had so much the Advantage over all his Rivals, that *Clisthenes* had secretly determined to give him his Daughter; but happening to see him one Day in a Dance do something which called his *good Breeding*, and consequently his *good Sense* in question, *Clisthenes* immediately altered his Resolution, and gave his Daughter to *Megacles of Athens*, who was looked upon to be one of the most accomplished Men in a City, celebrated for her *Politeness*, *through*

throughout all *Greece*, and allowed to be the great Nursery of *Arts and Sciences*. As to the Twelve unsuccessful *Lovers*, *Clisthenes* made every one of them such a Present at his Departure, that he had no Reason to complain of losing his Time while he resided at the Court of that *generous Prince*.

After all I may seem to have insinuated in favour of *Lycurgus*, for having commanded that all Infants born with any *bodily Defect*, should be put to Death ; and for his having given an *Uncommon Indulgence* to *both Sexes* in *Cases of Love* ; I shall readily allow, that tho' his Notions on these two Points may be agreeable to *Human Policy*, they are not intirely conformable to the *Doctrine of Christianity* : But then, tho' I hope I have all the Respect which I ought to have for the *Precepts of the Gospel*, I cannot help saying, that 'tis methinks, a little hard the Institutions of *Lycurgus* should be either approved or condemned, as they do or do not agree with a Law, which was not Promulgated till above Nine hundred Years after the Decease of

of this Illustrious Patriot : A Man who had so evidently the *Honour* and *Good* of his *Country* at Heart, and was so far from consulting his own *Private Interest*, that he refused to accept of the *Crown* of *Lacedæmon*, though it was several times offered to him by the unanimous Consent of the *Spartans*; and tho' he was press'd to take it in a very *particular* Manner, by the young Widow of their deceased King *Polydectes*.

What I must confess seems to me most blamable in the Discipline of the *Spartans*, is their Cruelty towards the poor *Heliotes* (under which Name they comprehended all their Slaves) and which I will not shock my good-natur'd Readers with an Account of. The *Spartans* chief Pretence for treating these Wretches with so much Barbarity, was, that they were very *Numerous*, and might otherwise *Revolt*. It is certain, that some Authors have attributed the Treatment these *Heliotes* met with, to the Institutions of *Lycurgus*; but it is as certain, that others of equal Authority assure us, there was nothing like it known in *Lace-*
demon

dæmon 'till many Years after the Death of
this great Law-giver.

Having said enough of those Things in
the *Spartan* Constitution, which seem most
liable to Exception, I beg leave to return
to the Consideration of that *Maxim*, which
I am humbly of Opinion ought to be ob-
serv'd in every well-govern'd State; and
to the Observance of which the *Spartans*
seemed chiefly to owe all their Greatnes,
viz. *That every Post of Honour or Profit*
in the Commonwealth, ought to be made the
Reward of real Merit.

If any Modern Politician should take it
into his Head that this Maxim, however
Excellent in it self, cannot possibly be ob-
served in so large and populous a King-
dom as *Great Britain*; I beg leave to in-
form such a Politician, that at this very
Time, this glorious Maxim is most strictly
follow'd and observ'd in the *Largest*, the
most *Populous*, and the *best Govern'd Em-
pire* in all the World: I mean in *China*.

The Extent of this Empire, the Number of its Inhabitants, the Beauty and Largeness of its Cities, and its prodigious Commerce (according to the Testimony of several Authors of the first Class, and of those learned Men who have long resided there as Missionaries) are almost incredible.

The famous *Vossius*, in his Book *Variarum Considerationum*, after having made several Guesses, founded upon Historical Facts, at the Extent of old *Rome*, and the Number of its Inhabitants, proceeds to calculate the Number of Inhabitants in most Countries. He gives to *Spain* two Millions of People; to *France* five Millions; to *Great Britain* and *Ireland* two Millions, and to the Low Countries the like Number.

He proceeds afterwards, to make a Guess at the Number of Inhabitants in *China*, and is of Opinion, that when the *Tartars* broke through their famous Wall, and enter'd that Empire, it must have contain'd no less than One hundred and Seventy Millions

Millions of Inhabitants : That their Capital City had Twenty Millions, without including the Suburbs ; but that taking in the Suburbs, it contained more Inhabitants than all *Europe*.

Though *Vossius's* Book was publish'd at *London* in the Year 1685, and tho' *Time* and some *particular Accidents*, have vastly increased the Number of our People since that Year, yet I think it may be proved, that this learned Man's Calculation of the Number of our Inhabitants, even at that Time, was much too low.

If we suppose *one Person* out of *Three and Thirty* to die, within the Term of a Year, which is according to the common Calculation, I believe it will be found, that we have at present within the Bills of Mortality, above Nine hundred Thousand Souls.

As *Vossius's* Calculation was therefore too low with respect to us, it may very possibly have been too high with respect to the *Chinese* ; yet according to the most modest

modest Accounts, the Empire of *China* has two Cities, *viz.* *Nankin* and *Pekin*, one of which is four Times, and the other three Times as big as *London*. It has besides, One hundred and Fifty Cities, which the *Chinese* call *First-rate Cities*, every one of which is at least as big as the City of *Orleans* in *France*. The Wall which a *Chinese* Emperor built to prevent the Incursions of the *Tartars*, makes a Figure even in the Map of the World: It is computed to be at least Fifteen hundred Leagues in Length; it has Towers built at proper Distances, for the Reception of those Soldiers that guard it, and was generally garrison'd with a Million of Men.

The full Extent of this prodigious Empire is not perhaps as yet exactly known; but though I cannot come up to Monsieur *Vossius*, I do verily believe, that the Empire of *China* doth contain more Inhabitants than all *Europe* put together.

Vossius thinks that they very much excel the European Nations in *Arts* and *Sciences*, and that though we have learn'd several valuable

valuable Things from them, yet that if they would but be good-natur'd and communicative, they could teach us things which are still more valuable, and of which we are wholly ignorant.

It is certain they had *Printing*, *Gunpowder*, and *Guns* among them long before those things were known in *Europe*. A sick Man in *China*, when he sends for a Physician, never tells him his Distemper; the Doctor, after having felt his Patient's Pulse for about half an Hour together, in a Manner not practis'd in *Europe*, seldom fails of guessing at his Malady, and telling him every particular *Disorder* that he has felt: It has, I think, been a little disputed, whether the *Chinese* Doctors are altogether as dexterous at curing a Distemper, as at finding it out.

But the great Point in which all Authors, who have wrote of the *Chinese*, do generally agree that they excel all other People in, is the *Art of Government*: Even the *French* Writers, notwithstanding their natural Love for their own Country, notwithstanding

withstanding the Incense which they are constantly offering to their *Grand Monarch*, are oblig'd to own Ingenuously, that the *Chinese* do excel all other Nations in the *Art of Government*, and can never sufficiently admire those Political Maxims collected, methodized and commented upon by the great *Confucius*.

Whether the *French* would own thus much or no, the Thing indeed speaks it self. The *Chinese* Government has certainly subsisted upon those excellent Principles it was at first founded, about Four thousand Five hundred Years. The *Chinese* themselves say much longer.

One of the most remarkable Things in the *Chinese* Government, is this: They have no such thing as any *Honours* or *Titles* that are *Hereditary*; they esteem it the highest Absurdity to pay any Respect to a worthless Fellow, because his Father was a Man of Merit. His degenerating from a worthy *Ancestor*, makes him, in the Eyes of the *Chinese*, more contemptible than if he had been born of the meanest *Mechanicks*.

chanick. No Man in *China* can be made a *Mandarine*, that is, a *Gentleman*, or is capable of any *Post* in the *Government*, who is not really a Man of *Parts* and *Learning*.

The Mandarines are chosen once a Year at the Capital City of *China*. Those who imagine they are qualified, and offer themselves to be elected into this *Order*, which is truly *Honourable*, are examined in so strict a Manner as would not be credited, if so many Authors did not agree in their Account of it.

Every Candidate is put into a Cell by himself; this Cell is carefully guarded Day and Night by a Number of Soldiers, so that he can have no Assistance from any Friend in those Pieces he is order'd to compose. It is expected that he should shew himself a Master of the Mandarin Language, of the *Chinesē* History, and of the Writings of *Confucius*. It is likewise expected, that he should be able to draw up any Instrument or A&t of State; in the writing and wording of which the *Chinesē* are extreamly *correct*.

The Pieces he composes, to prove himself a Master of these several Parts of Learning, are fairly and impartially examined by a select Number of Mandarines, at the Head of whom the *Emperor* himself always presides; and the Candidate is either *rejected* or *received* into the Number of Mandarines, as he is found to be *qualified*.

The *Language* which the Mandarines speak, and must be Masters of, differs from the common *Chinese*, and is much more *Elegant* and *Expressive*. The Mandarines are distinguished by their Habit from all other Persons; and lastly, from the most deserving of this Body, who are all Men of Parts and Learning, the Emperor chuses those whom he puts into the most considerable Employments Civil or Military. Out of these Mandarines, he chuses Governors for the *Provinces* in his Empire, which are much *larger* than most *Kingdoms* in *Europe*.

Having

Having shewn that *Real Merit* is the only Qualification for a Post in *China*; I beg leave to add, that *England* has always made a Figure in *Europe*, and been more or less Considerable, in proportion as this Maxim was more or less observed by her Princes.

The Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* is beyond all dispute, the most shining Part of the British History; but what Englishman is there, who when he hears the Names of * *Rawleigh, Walsingham, Sidney, Cecil, Bacon, and Hatton*; of *Howard, Drake, Hawkins and Forbisher*; of *Mountjoy, Essex, Willoughby and Hunsdon*; of *Throgmorton, Wotton, Randolph, Pickering, Dale, Fletcher, Norris and Killigrew*; with several others who might be added to this Illustrious List; I say, what Englishman is

* I believe this short List of some of Queen *Elizabeth's* Statesmen, Admirals, Generals, and Envoys, cannot be match'd in the Reign of any other English Monarch; and must sufficiently convince any Person of the excellent Judgment and uncommon Penetration of that most renowned and most beloved Princess.

there, who when he hears these Names, can be at all surprized, that his Country was so happy at Home under the Administration of this excellent Queen ? That her Fleets and Armies were Victorious ? That in all her foreign Treaties and Negotiations, she was too hard for other Princes ? or, that during her Reign, the *British Trade* was so vastly improved in all its several Branches ?

The Person who, after Queen *Elizabeth*, overcame the greatest Difficulties, and whose Actions are the most surprizing of any mentioned in the *English History*, is *Oliver Cromwell*.

It is certain, that *Cromwell* stuck at no Wickedness to arrive at Power : But then it is as certain, that when he was possessed of it, he used it Nobly. Few Men have ever shewn a more ardent Zeal for the Honour and Reputation of their Country, or a greater Disregard for the private Interest of their own Family. I never yet met with any History that says what became of his Wife, though she certainly survived him ; and 'tis well known that he left

left his Children but very moderate Fortunes.

This extraordinary Man, after having subdued *Ireland* and *Scotland*, assumed the supreme Power over Three Kingdoms. He immediately made himself *dreaded* and *courted* by all the States in *Europe*: He reduced *Holland*, *Portugal* and *Denmark* to make *Peace* with him, on *such Conditions* as he thought fit to give them; and *oblig'd* each of those three States to pay him a great *Sum of Money* at the *Conclusion* of their respective *Treaties*. He extended his *Protection* in the most *generous* and *effectual* Manner to the poor *Vaudois*, and the *Protestants* in *France*. He made several *Regulations* at Home, which my Lord *Clarendon* is forced to confess, were *worthy* of better *Times*. His taking *Mardyke* and *Dunkirk*, made him absolutely Master of both Sides of the Channel, and, in *Effect*, removed *France* to a convenient *Distance* from *England*. His scouring the Seas of *Pirates*, forcing the *Algerines* to restore all the Prizes they had taken, and burning all the Men of War that lay in the Ports of

Tunis, secured our *Trade*, and made our Merchant Ships *respected* in every Part of the *Mediterranean*: His destroying the whole *Spanish* Plate-Fleet of an inestimable Value at *Santa-Cruz*, rendered the Name of an *English* Squadron terrible in the most distant Parts of the World; while the Citizens of *London* had the Pleasure to see the *Spanish* Bullion, to the Value of several *Millions*, carried in Carts to the *Tower*, * in order to be coined.

Even the most unsuccessful of all his Expeditions was of no small Advantage

* This Action at *Santa-Cruz*, gave occasion to that celebrated Poem compos'd by Mr. *Waller* (who was both a *Friend* and a *Relation* of the *Protector's*) which begins,

*Now for some Ages, had the Pride of Spain
Made the Sun shine on half the World in vain;*

At the Conclusion of this Poem, Mr. *Waller* very artfully exhorts the People (who were highly pleas'd with the late Action) to make the *Protector* their *King*; a Title which 'tis probable he was well assured *Cromwell* had a mind to assume.

*His conqu'ring Head has no more Room for Bays;
Then let it be, as the glad Nation prays:
Let the rich Ore forthwith be melted down,
And the State fix'd, by making him a Crown:
With Ermin clad, and Purple, let him hold
A Royal Scepter, made of Spanish Gold.*

to *England*; had *Pen* and *Venables* followed their *Orders*, the *Spaniards* had certainly been drove out of *Hispaniola* and *Cuba*. The *Protector* sent both his *Admiral* and his *General* to the *Tower* as soon as they came *Home*, for not acting as he had directed; and yet in this very Expedition the *English* Nation acquired *Jamaica*, the most valuable of all their Colonies, and which may prove of infinite Service to them, should they ever happen to quarrel with *Spain*.

If we consider that *Cromwell* did all these things in a Reign but of Five Years Four Months and Fourteen Days, while the *Royal Party*, the *Presbyterians* and *Commonwealths-Men*, were all conspiring against him at *Home*, and while there was a Prince *Abroad* who wanted neither *Sense* nor *Courage*, and had the Hereditary Right to the Crown of *England* in him; I say, if we consider all these Circumstances, the *short* Reign of *Cromwell* stands in a very fair Light.

Mr. Arch-Deacon *Echard*, though it is pretty evident he is no great Friend of
H. 4 the

the Protector's, yet when all these glorious Actions stare him full in the Face, cannot help crying out, *His publick Character is all over WONDERFUL and AMAZING*: And yet I think, that another Historian has let us pretty well into the real Source of all these great Actions and uncommon Successes: He tells us in his Character of Cromwell, That *No Man was ever better served, nor took more Pains to be so*; that *If he came to hear of a Man fit for his Purpose, though ever so obscure, he sent for him and employ'd him; suiting the Employment to the Person, and not the Person to the Employment*; and that upon this Maxim in his Government, depended in a great measure his Success.

The Arch-Deacon might have abated some Part of his Wonder and Amazement, if he had but remembered what he had himself before told us of the Protector; viz. That *No Man sooner discover'd the Talents of those he conversed with*; and that *There was not one Man in all England, that was singular in any Art or Faculty, that was concealed from him*. If Mr. Arch-Deacon had

had seriously reflected how great a *Character* he has here given the Protector in a few *Words*; and how much a Prince may do, who will but give himself the trouble to know such of his Subjects as have extraordinary *Abilities*, and to employ their several *Talents* for his own *Honour* and the *Service* of his People; I say, if the Arch-Deacon had but duly considered how inuch may be done by observing this *one Maxim*, he would have found that Cromwell's Actions, great as they are, might have been performed without his contracting a *personal Friendship* with the * *Devil*.

If we reflect upon the Characters of those great Men who composed Queen Elizabeth's Ministry, who by their *Councils*, *Fortitude*, or *Negotiations*, acquir'd for their *Country* so many *solid* and *real Advantages*; how much must it raise our *In-*

* Mr. Arch-Deacon, in his *History of England*, has given us a very surprizing Account, of an Interview between Cromwell and the Devil in a Wood; of which it seems Colonel Lindsey was an Eye-witness.

dignation,

dignation, should we ever see some of the most *worthless* of Mankind, pretend to rank themselves with those *real Patriots*! And yet I am afraid we have known some Persons, since the Days of Queen *Elizabeth*, who, without any other Merit, than receiving *Projects* for *New Taxes*, and laying the most *grievous Loads* upon their miserable Fellow-Subjects, have had the *Affurance to expect and take* from their unhappy *Country*, more *immense Sums* and *extravagant Honours*, than the *best and greatest* of Queen *Elizabeth's Ministers* ever pretended to.

But how much must it provoke any *thinking Man*, when he reflects that some of these *Modern Statesmen* have been so far from understanding, even that *meanest Part* of *Politicks*, to which they have wholly apply'd themselves, that it is easily demonstrable how the very *same Sums* might have been raised for *Publick Service*, with the same Advantage to the *Crown*; but with much more *Ease* to the *Country Gentleman*, the *Merchant* and the *Farmer*!

It is very possible, that *Posterity* may not think either *Cleomenes* or me worth their Notice; I am sensible that most People would even now imagine a Treatise, extreamly trifling, which should be wholly wrote upon any *personal Controversy* between us two. In order therefore to enliven so dry a *Subject*, I have already flung some Things into these Sheets which may, perhaps, bear being read by People, who can have no manner of Concern for what becomes of either of us. I have already endeavoured to give them some Notion of the Policy and Sentiments of the antient *Greeks* and *Romans*: They will likewise find in the following Letter, some Considerations upon two Subjects of the utmost Importance, viz. upon the LOVE OF OUR COUNTRY, and upon The LIBERTY OF THE PRESS.

Every Native of *Holland*, as well the *Women* as the *Men*, by a *Principle* and *National Affection*, which can never be too much admired or praised, glory in doing their

their best for *Father-Landt*; * an endearing and noble *Expression*, by which they mean their *Country*; and I could wish that we would vouchsafe to imitate our Neighbours the *Dutch*, at least in this Particular.

I have endeavoured, from the Example of the *Lacedæmonian Ladies*, to shew even the fair Sex, that it is both their *Duty* and their *Interest*, to have a hearty *Love for their Country*: I would, methinks, have the most beautiful Part of our Species strongly inspir'd with this *Paffion*, as I am very sensible it would contribute not a little to the Welfare and Prosperity of *Great Britain*. The World need not be told at this Time of Day, how great is the *Power of Beauty*. Perhaps a natural Reason might be given, why it has generally had the *strongest Influence* upon the *greatest Men*: Perhaps those very *Animal Spirits*, which by their *Fineness* and *Quantity*, are the immediate Cause of *Wisdom*,

* The *Dutch Word*, *Father-Landt*, is more elegant and expressive than the *Latin Word Patria*, from whence it was probably taken; and either of them is much more significant, than our *Englyſh Word Country*.

Wit and *Courage*, do naturally and strongly incline those Men, in whom they reside, to that *soft Passion*, which few of them have escaped, and which in it self is no Fault. One of the best and most judicious Writers this Nation ever produced, has put the following Lines into the Mouth of a Man who was both an *Hero* and a *Philosopher*.

*When Love's well tim'd, 'tis not a Fault to love ;
The Strong, the Brave, the Virtuous, and the
Wife,
Sink in the soft Captivity together.*

Addison's Cato.

In a Word, History is full of Examples, where the Fate of Kingdoms and Empires have been determined by bright Eyes; and where Men have done either the greatest or meanest Actions, in obedience to the Commands of their Mistresses. The Beauty of my fair Country-Women, has already rendred them the Wonder and Admiration of all the *European* Nations; how much would it add to their Charms, if we could see their Breasts glowing with a fervent

fervent Love for their Country, and hear the most generous Sentiments proceed from the fairest Lips ! They will find in the following Sheets, that the State of *Lacedæmon* was formerly preserved by the Gallantry of the *Spartan Ladies*.

Rome was no less indebted to the Virtue of her Matrons ; That City, which became the Mistress of the World, had been utterly destroy'd, and laid in Ashes, nor had the Names of *Cato*, *Brutus*, *Scipio* and *Pompey* been ever heard of, had not *Rome* herself been preserved by the *Virtue* and *Resolution* of *Roman Ladies* : The Story is so much to the Honour of their Sex, that I cannot possibly forbear relating it.

* *Caius Marcius Coriolanus* was of a Patrician Family in *Rome*, and had given
several

* I have endeavoured to place this beautiful Story in its full Light : It is mentioned by every Author who has wrote of the *Roman Affairs* at the Time it happen'd; the Authors who have been most particular in their Account of it, are *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, *Livy* and *Plutarch*; each of these, has told this Story his own Way, and given us the *Speech* of *Coriolanus's Mother*. There

several Instances of an invincible Courage in the Service of his Country. Soon after he was of an Age to bear Arms, a War broke out between the *Romans* and the *Volsicians*: The former under the Command of *Cominius* their Consul, invested *Corioli*, the chief City of their Enemies. The *Volsicians* had at that Time a good Army in the Field, so that the *Roman* Consul, to avoid being besieged in his Trenches, was obliged to divide his Forces: He marched himself at the Head of a strong Body to fight the *Volsician* Army, and left the Remainder of his Forces under the Command of *Titus Larcius*, a brave *Roman*,

There cannot be a more exquisite Pleasure, to a Person of a refined Taste, than to observe the different Manner after which these three Authors have given us the Story of *Coriolanus*; and if a Man was to make a Comparison between these three great Historians, and to consider each of their *Beauties* and *Defects*, he could not perhaps do it better, than by nicely observing the Manner in which each of them has told this Story, and what *Circumstances* each of them has thought most proper to affect his Readers, or to be flung into *Shades*. The three Historians last mentioned, differ in several Particulars, which are not at all material to my present Design: I have taken from each of them whatever I thought proper, and added some Circumstances from other Writers.

to carry on the Siege. The Garrison of *Corioli* despising now the small Number of their Enemies, made a brisk Salley: At first they carried all before them, till coming to that Quarter, where *Caius Marcius* was posted, they found themselves stopt in their Carreer. *Marcius* charging them at the Head of a small Party, not only cut in Pieces such of the *Volscians* as had already enter'd the *Roman* Trenches, but forced their whole Body to retreat. Not content to see those Men now retire, who were so lately Conquerors, he fell upon their Rear and drove them to the very Gates of their City. Those who had follow'd him thus far, now fell back from the Pursuit, unable to support that multitude of Darts which was shower'd down upon them from the Walls; when *Marcius*, who was remarkable for a strong and clear Voice, (which *Homer* justly reckons amongst the Accomplishments of a General) turning about to his Men, cried out to them with all his force, *That Fortune had set open the Gates of Corioli, not to shelter the Vanquish'd, but to receive their Conquerors.* He had no sooner said this, but he flung him-

himself in at the Gate amidst the *Volscians*, and bore along with the Crowd till they all together enter'd the City: When he now look'd about him, he found he had been followed but by very few of his Friends; making therefore a Virtue of a Necessity; while the whole Garrison of the Town fell upon him, he performed such Actions as are hardly credible: In a Word, he made good the Passage which led towards the chief Gate of the City, till *Titus Larcius* brought up the rest of the *Romans*, and took the Place.

Thus was *Corioli* surprized, almost by the single Courage of *Marcius*; which the *Roman Army* were so sensible of, that they unanimously voted him a Tenth Part of all the Spoil.* *Marcius* could by no Means

* When *Corioli* was taken, most of the Soldiers were intent upon plundering the City, as is usual in such Cases: *Marcius* was highly offended at their Behaviour, for he reflected that the Consul and their Fellow Citizens might, perhaps, at that very Instant, be engaged with the *Volscian Army*. He prevail'd at last with a few generous Men to quit their Share of the Plunder; and putting himself at the Head of these, marched with the utmost Speed to the Consul's Army, beseech-

Means be persuaded to accept of this Present : He declared he had done nothing more than what he owed to his Country ; and that he would accept of no Reward

beseaching the Gods as he went along, that he might arrive before the Fight was begun. He was fortunate enough to come up with the Army as it stood in Battle array, and while the *Romans* were making their *Verbal Wills* in the Hearing of three or four of their Fellow Soldiers, as they generally did just before an Engagement.

Marcus acquainted them that *Corioli* was taken, and this unexpected News was received with the utmost Joy, and a general Shout of the whole Army : He then earnestly beseeched the Consul that he might have the *Post of Honour* in the Engagement that was going to begin ; and be placed directly opposite to the *Antiates*, who were reckoned the bravest Soldiers among the *Volsicians*. *Cominius* seeing him already covered all over with Blood and Sweat, would have persuaded him rather to rest and refresh himself, than to expose his Person to new Dangers : *Marcus* reply'd, *That Conquerors should never be weary*; and the Consul was at last obliged to gratify him. The two Armies joined in Battle, where *Marcus* gave fresh Proofs of the highest personal *Courage* ; and contributed not a little to that Victory which the *Romans* obtained over their Enemies : Both *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*, and *Plutarch*, give a full and particular Account of this second Action of *Marcus's*; which rightly considered in all its Circumstances, is more glorious than the First ; notwithstanding which, *Livy* passes it over in Silence : I must own I have often thought, that *Livy* could not persuade himself to speak too well of a Man, who appear'd afterwards at the Head of a *Volsician* Army against his Country ; and though such *Partiality* is hardly to be justified in an Historian, 'tis perfectly agreeable to the *Roman Way of Thinking*.

to

to the Prejudice of the Publick, or his
Fellow Soldiers.

Cominius the Consul, equally charmed with his *Courage* and *Generosity*, turning to the Army, *I see*, says he, *Fellow Soldiers*, *that there is no Way of forcing our designed Present upon Marcius*; but let us at least give him one thing, which is so suitable to the Service he has done, that he cannot reject it. Let us pass a Vote, that from hence-forward his Name shall be *Coriolanus*, unless you think that what he has this Day performed, is already more than sufficient to give him an undoubted Right to that Title. This Proposal of the Consul's was received and confirmed with the loudest Acclamations of the Army, and the Name of *Marcius* was immediately lost in that of *Coriolanus*.*

* *Eutropius* having probably heard that the City of *Corioli* was taken by *Marcius* (who had from thence the Name of *Coriolanus*) makes a Mistake, and calls him *Dux Romanorum, The General of the Romans*; whereas it is certain that *Marcius* was at that Time only an Inferior Officer.

Some time after this, a Dispute arose at *Rome*,* upon which the City was divided: *Coriolanus* was of the same Opinion with the Minority. He not only gave his Vote agreeable to his Sentiments, but *spoke* in the Senate-House, with great Force and Freedom upon this Occasion. The Party he oppos'd were so provoked at his Behaviour, that with much ado, and a great deal of *unfair Management*, they got a Decree passed for his being banished: As soon as the Sentence was declared, *Coriolanus* returning Home, embraced his Mother *Volumnia*, and his Wife *Virgilia*, a Lady of great Beauty and Virtue: While these two were all in Tears and so oppressed with Grief, that they could hardly speak to him, *Coriolanus* (having recommended to their Care his two Infant Children, the Eldest of which was but Nine Years old) hastened to one of the City Gates, where a great Number of the most Eminent Citizens of *Rome*

* It would have made the Story too long to have entered into the Detail of this Affair.

attended him : His Heart was too full of Rage and Resentment, to take a formal Leave of these his Friends. He left the City without speaking to any of them ; fully determined to revenge himself, if possible, upon his ungrateful Country.

In pursuance of this Resolution, he offered his Service to the *Volscians*, who not only received him with open Arms ; but elected him their General.

Coriolanus soon persuaded them to break the Truce they had lately made with the *Romans*, and marched at the Head of their Army to the City of *Circæum*, a *Roman* Colony : He obliged this Place to surrender at *Discretion*, and driving out all the *Romans*, delivered it up to the *Volscians* : From hence he fell into the Country of the *Latins*, and took by Assault *Tolerium*, *Labicum* and *Pedum* : *Bola* made a gallant Resistance, repulsed the *Volscians* at their first Assault, and killed a great Number of their Men : *Coriolanus* was not then present ; but hearing of the Disgrace of his Army, flew immediately to their

Assistance ; he placed himself at their Head, and leading them on in Person to a second Assault, carried the Place Sword in Hand. To shew other Cities what they must expect, if they made an obstinate Defence, he ordered *Bola* to be immediately burnt, and gave the Plunder of it to his Soldiers. Nothing now withstood the Rapidity of his Conquests : The City of *Corioli* flung open her Gates at the Approach of a General, who had taken her once before. He likewise re-took *Satricum*, *Longula* and *Postula* ; and having made himself Master of *Trebia*, *Ditellia*, and several other Places, he sat down before *Lavinium*, the first City which *Aeneas* built in *Italy*, and which lay but twelve Miles from *Rome*.

These several Successes acquired *Coriolanus* a prodigious Reputation through all the States of *Italy*, who saw with infinite Surprize, that one Man had no sooner changed Sides, than the Vanquished Nation became the Victors,

The People of *Rome* had hitherto supported all their Losses with great Constancy and Resolution; but when they received the News that *Lavinium* was besieged, (the City from whence they derived their *Original*; and in which the *Gods of their Fathers* were deposited) their Courage began to sink: They earnestly implored the Senate to repeal the Sentence of Banishment against *Coriolanus*. The Question therefore was put in the Senate-House, Whether the Decree should be repealed? but it was carried in the Negative.*

Coriolanus received the News, as he lay before *Lavinium*; and looking upon this Vote of the Senate's to be a fresh Affront, he determined to end the War at once, by the Destruction of *Rome* itself: Leaving

* It is not easy to say, what could make the Senate pass so extraordinary a Vote at this Time. *Dionyssis of Halicarnassus* ingenuously owns, that he is at a Loss how to account for it, though he makes three Conjectures: *Plutarch* likewise offers three several Reasons; but I confess there is not one of them all, which appears to me, of sufficient Weight to justify the Prudence of a Roman Senate.

therefore a Body of his Troops before *Lavinium** to continue the Blockade of that Place, he marched at the Head of his Victorious Army directly to *Rome*, and encamped before the City. The Sight of *Coriolanus's* Ensigns produced so great a Consternation in *Rome*, that the Senate, now sensible of their late Error, came in one and all to the Opinion of the People. It was therefore unanimously agreed to send Ambassadors to *Coriolanus*, with an Offer to repeal the Decree for his Banishment, and to desire a Peace with the *Volsicians* upon reasonable Terms. *Coriolanus* called a Council of War, in whose Presence he received the *Roman* Ambassadors with an insupportable Arrogance: §

* *Livy* says, that he actually took *Lavinium*; *Plutarch* says, that he intirely raised the Siege of that Place, and marched to *Rome* with his whole Army; but I have chose to follow *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, whose Account seems to me more probable than either of the former; and more agreeable to the Character which *Livy* himself gives of *Marcus*, when he was a young Man at the Siege of *Corioili*. *Livy* says, he was even at that time, *Adolescens & Concilio, & Manu promptus*.

§ The Ambassadors were *M. Minutius, Posthumius Cominius, Sp. Lartius, P. Pinærius* and *Q. Sulpicius*; all these were what the *Romans* called *Viri Consulares*, that is, *Persons who had been Consuls*.

When they had delivered their Embassy, he put them in mind of their shameful Ingratitude towards himself, which he set forth in the bitterest Words, and last of all proposed a Peace upon such Terms, as made Death itself more eligible, to a People jealous of their Honour and Reputation. Upon the Receipt of this Answer, it was resolved at *Rome*, to send him a second Embassy : The Senate took care that the Ambassadors themselves should be chosen out of his nearest Relations, and most intimate Acquaintance, in hopes that such Persons would meet with a kind Reception at their first Interview. The Event proved quite otherwise, *Coriolanus* received this second Embassy, which was delivered to him in the most humble Terms, with as much Haughtiness as the former, and immediately dismissed the Ambassadors with this Answer, That *The Romans must expect Peace upon no other Conditions than those which he had at first proposed, which if they refused to accept, he would endeavour to convince them that he had not lost his*

*bis Courage since his Banishment.** The Senate had now recourse to the meanest Artifice they had ever made use of. They passed a Decree, that the whole Order of their Priests, with such whose Office it was to initiate Men into the most Sacred Mysteries, or had the Care and Custody of the most Holy Things, or were skilled in any kind of Divination, should all dress themselves in those Habits in which they officiated in their several Functions; that they should go in a Solemn Procession to *Coriolanus*, and beseech him to have Mercy upon his Native Country. It was conceived that the Sight of those Persons and Things, for which his Education, when a Child, had taught him to have the utmost *Respect*, might bend his haughty Mind, and induce him to lay aside some Part of his Resentment. The *Volselian* Army was struck with a Sort of Religious Awe, at the Appearance of this Solemn and Venerable Procession: Their General was the only Man upon whom it made no Impression: His

* *Livy's* Words are somewhat stronger, *Adnistrum ut appareat exilio sibi irritatos non frattos animos esse.*

Pride indeed was evidently delighted, to see that now he was no longer addressed to as a *Man*, but supplicated as an offended *Deity*. He remained, however, fix'd in his first Resolutions, and the Sacred Troop were obliged to return to *Rome*, deplored the Fate of their unhappy Country. Upon their Arrival, the whole City was filled with Terror and Consternation; as they despair'd of being able to defend themselves by their Arms, nothing but Disorder and Confusion were every where visible: The Women ran frighted up and down the Streets, the old Men crowded to the Temples, and wearied the Gods with Tears and Supplications.

In this dreadful Scituation of Affairs, the Ladies of the best Quality were devoutly kneeling about the Altar of *Jupiter Capitolinus*; among these was *Valeria*, Sister to the great *Publicola*: Her own Virtues, and the Memory of her illustrious Brother, lately deceased, had rendered her extreamly dear to the People of *Rome*. As this Lady was reilecting on the impending Destruction of the City, it occurred

curred to her Thoughts, that the Mother and Wife of *Coriolanus* might be of some Service to their Country in this great *Crisis*. She communicated her own Sentiments to the rest of the *Roman Ladies*, and causing them to get up from their Devotions, went with them to the House of *Volumnia* the Mother of *Coriolanus*; * she found *Volumnia* sitting with her Daughter-in-Law, the beautiful *Virgilia*, and with her two Grand-Children upon her Lap; to whom *Valeria*, in the Name of all her Female Companions, addressed herself to this Effect;

We whom you now see, O Volumnia and Virgilia, are not come by the Command of

* *Livy* seems to doubt whether the *Roman Ladies* waited upon the Mother and Wife of *Coriolanus* by an Order of the Senate, or induced to it by their own Fears; *Id, publicum consilium, an muliebris timor fuerit, parum invenio.* *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, and *Plutarch* are both very positive that what the Women did, was not by Order of the Senate, or any Magistrate: *Plutarch* imputes it to the particular Inspiration of *Jupiter Capitolinus*; and this Thought is very worthy a *Devout Heathen*: Without mentioning *Plutarch's* Superstition too strongly, I have chose in this Part of the Story to follow his Account, as it appears to me the most natural, and is certainly most for the Honour of the *Roman Ladies*.

the Senate, or by an Order of the Consuls: We come to you as Women unto Women, or rather as we hope by the particular Direction of Jupiter himself, who, moved to Compassion by our Prayers, inspired us with the Thought of visiting you in a Body. We come therefore, led by that God who has hitherto protected the City of Rome, to request that of you in which our own and the common Welfare is equally concerned. If you grant what we desire, your Fame in future Ages will even exceed that of the Sabine Daughters, who rushing into the Battle amidst those Showers of Darts which threaten'd their Lives, obliged their Fathers and their Husbands to sheath their Swords; and from a State of mortal Enmity, to become Friends and Allies. Vouchsafe to place yourselves at our Head, to lead us to the Camp of the Volscians, and to intreat their General to think that he has at last sufficiently punished Rome for the Injuries he has received: Vouchsafe at least, to do your Country so much Justice, as to tell Coriolanus, that notwithstanding all the Mischiefs and Calamities which he has brought upon her, she has never offer'd the least Violence to your Persons,

Persons, nor amidst all her Resentments, ever entertained the least Thoughts to your Prejudice; and that, lastly, she restores you into his Hands, even at this Time, when she is convinced that from him she is to expect no Mercy.

This Pathetick Speech of *Valeria's* was strongly seconded by all the Female Votaries who accompanied her. *Volumnia*, after some Pause, made them this Answer.

Besides those Calamities which I and *Virgilia* share in common with our Country, there are other Domestick Afflictions, which are peculiar to ourselves. We have beheld the utter Destruction of *Coriolanus's* Fame and Virtue: We have seen him do what must intirely eclipse the Glory of all his former Actions. How much rather should we hear he was in the Camp of the Volscians as their Prisoner than their General! But the most sensible Affliction we feel at present, is to find that the Affairs of the Commonwealth are in so low, so desperate a Condition, as to want the Assistance of two weak Women:

How

How can we hope that Coriolanus has any Affection left for us, when we see that he has none for his Country! which we are well assured was once much dearer to him than either his Mother, his Wife, or his Children! I say not this, to decline doing any thing which you imagine may be for the Service of Rome; make what use you please of me and my Daughter; lead us to this inexorable Man: We can at least dye for our Country, though we have not Interest sufficient to preserve it.

Volumnia having spoke thus, took her Daughter-in-Law by the Hand, and bidding her take her Children with her, put herself at the Head of the Roman Ladies; Thus accompanied, she went directly towards the Camp of the Volscians. A Sight so moving, made some Impression on their very Enemies: The Volscian Soldiers of their own accord fell back, and opening their Ranks, suffered the beautiful Troop to pass through them: *Coriolanus* was at that time seated upon his Tribunal, with the chief Officers of his Army standing about him, to whom he was giving the necessary

necessary Directions for their attacking the City. He was extreamly surprized to see this female Party advancing towards him ; but when they drew nearer, and he perceived that his own Wife and his Mother were at the Head of the Company, he was scarce Master of those Emotions which so unexpected a Sight produced within him : He found himself obliged to call up all his Manhood to his Assistance, and to resolve more firmly than ever, to be deaf to all Intreaties. The Ladies still advanced, till they came to the Foot of his Tribunal : *Coriolanus* not able to endure that his Mother and his Wife should stand looking up at him, while he was seated in so much State above them, descended hastily, and first saluting his Mother, embraced her for a long time ; he then ran to his Wife, and catching her in his Arms, could not refrain, in spight of all his Manhood, from mingling his own Tears with hers : He last of all embraced his two Children, with all the Tenderness of a fond Father. *Volumnia* was well enough pleased to observe the Transports of her Son, and suffered him for some time to indulge himself

self in the pleasing violence of his present Passions : At last she gave him to understand, that she had something to impart to him. *Coriolanus* at these Words, like a Man awakened from a pleasing Dream, immediately recollect'd himself, and order'd the *Volscian* Council to be called in. *Volumnia* was a little shocked at this Behaviour, and abashed at the Sight of so many *Volscians*, all Men of the first Quality : She was in hopes to have spoke to her Son *alone*; but finding that was not to be expected, her Concern for *Rome* overcame at last every other Consideration. With the Dignity therefore of a *Roman* Matron, and the Resolution of a Person determined either to *save* her Country or *perish* with it, she addressed herself to *Coriolanus* in the following Words ;

That Alteration which you cannot but observe in your Wife and your Mother, since you saw us last, is of itself sufficient to convince you, under what a Load of Grief we have supported Life; and how much we have daily bemoaned your Banishment and Absence: Our seeing you again, which we

once imagined was the greatest Blessing the Gods could have bestowed, is become an Addition to our Misery. Volumnia sees her Son, and Virgilia her Husband planting his Batteries against the Walls of Rome : We are even deprived of that Relief from Prayer, which the most wretched find under all their Misfortunes. We know not what Petition to prefer to the Gods ; since to pray that Rome may be Victorious, is no longer consistent with your Preservation : Know therefore, that I am determined not to wait the Event of a War, which must end either in the Destruction of my Country or my Son ; and that I will never behold either a Day of Triumph for your Overthrow, or you insulting amidst the Ashes of Rome. If nothing can prevent your beating down the Walls of that City, which contains your Household Gods, your Wife, and your Children, know, that when you enter the Breach, you shall pass over the wretched Corps of that Woman who brought you into the World ; and who will truly deserve to be so treated, for having given Life to the Man who destroyed her Country. Look upon your Wife ; Behold those innocent Children, who if you

pursue

pursue your present Enterprize, must either suffer a violent Death, or endure perpetual Slavery. I am not ignorant how much you owe to the Volscians ; but surely the Preservation of Rome is not at all inconsistent with the Safety of that generous Nation : We do not aim at doing them any Prejudice ; we only desire to be delivered ourselves from the Calamities of War : Peace will be a Blessing to the Volscians as well as to us, tho' it must be confess'd, they will acquire more Honour, if at this time they consent to end a War, in which they have hitherto been successful. If two brave Nations, who are at present Enemies, shall by your Mediation become Friends and Allies, what Praises, what Thanks will you not justly merit from either People ! If, on the contrary, you prevent their coming to an Agreement, You alone are answerable for all the Miseries which either of them shall suffer from this Day. The Chance of War is doubtful ; yet this must be the certain Event of that War you are unhappily engaged in : If you conquer, your Name will be infamous to all Posterity, for having destroyed your Country ; If you are conquer'd, the World will say,

that to gratify your own Revenge, you have ruin'd a Nation who so kindly received and entertain'd you in your Banishment.

Virgilia all this while stood by her Mother-in-Law, with one of her Children in each Hand, and though she kept her Eyes fix'd on the Ground, and said nothing, yet by the mute Eloquence of her Tears, sufficiently shew'd how much she was concerned in the Event of their Embassy. It is impossible to express those Agonies *Coriolanus* felt while his Mother was speaking, or all those different Passions which succeeded one another in his Breast: He sometimes look'd upon *Volumnia*, and sometimes on *Virgilia*, while a quick Sense of Shame, of Honour, of Love, of Duty, and of Revenge, took possession of him by turns. He could not bring himself to forget either his own Injuries, or that Fidelity which he owed the *Volscians*, yet his Mother's Words had awaken'd in him some Tenderness for his native Country; nor amidst all his Resentments, could he possibly help reflecting upon the glorious Part which she and his Wife were then acting

acting in the Volscian Camp. He return'd no Answer to *Volumnia*, who had now done speaking; but remain'd Silent, with his Eyes on the Ground: It was not, however, difficult for those that were present, to observe how greatly he was disorder'd. *Volumnia*, who had known her Son from an Infant, was not the last Person who perceived how much she had moved him: While he continued Silent, she made her last and utmost Effort in these Words;

To what must I impute this sullen Silence? am I then too contemptible in the Eyes of my Son, to deserve an Answer? Does it become a brave Man to listen only to his Resentments, and to remember nothing but Injuries? Is there no Obligation from Children to Parents! No Return of Duty and Reverence due from them to the Authors of their Being! Can you, who so severely punish Ingratitude in others, be your self guilty of the same Crime! I grant the Romans injured you, but have you not taken a full Revenge! Have you not already plundered their Cities, ruined their Colonies, and laid all their Territories Waste! They re-

quited your Services ill ; What Amends have you as yet made me for mine ? I now demand some Recompence for all the Kindness and Affection of a Mother, for all my tender Care of your Infancy : And will you break through the Ties of Nature and Religion, to refuse my first and only Request ? If this be your settled Resolution, I have already lived too long. Let me expire at the Feet of my Son, since I cannot persuade him to save his Country.

Having spoke thus, she threw herself at his Feet ; his Wife, the fair *Virgilia*, and his two Children, follow'd her Example. *Coriolanus* could now hold out no longer ; but cry'd, O my Mother ! O *Virgilia* ! to what have you reduced me ! With these Words he rais'd them from the Ground, and pressing *Volumnia*'s Hand with great Vehemence, Mother, says he, you have gained a Victory fortunate to Rome, but fatal to your Son. I go hence not vanquished by the Romans, but overcome by you and *Virgilia*. With this joyful News he sent them back again to *Rome* as they desired, and early the next Morning drew off

off his Army. When the *Romans* saw that their Enemies were actually dislodged, the Joy and Transport which appeared throughout the whole City is hardly to be described : They immediately flung open all their Temples, appeared themselves crowned with Flowers, and prepared the same Sacrifices for the Gods which they used to offer after their greatest Victories. Amidst this universal Joy, every Man strove to be loudest in their Commendations of the *Ladies* to whom they unanimously confess'd, that they owed the Preservation of themselves and their Country. The Senate immediately assembled, and by way of Acknowledgment, passed a Decree, that *Whatever the Women pleased to ask should be granted*. Upon this Occasion the Moderation of the *Roman Ladies* was extreamly remarkable. Having consulted among themselves, they desired nothing more, but that a Temple might be built and dedicated to The *Fortune of Women*. They offer'd to be at the Expence of this Building themselves, and only desired that the Sacrifices might be paid for out of the Publick Treasury.

The Senate, highly pleased with this fresh Instance of their *Modesty* and *Generosity*, decreed, That The Temple should be built at the Publick Charge, and erected on that very Spot of Ground where *Volumnia* and *Virgilia* had prevailed with *Coriolanus* to draw off his Army: They likewise order'd, That to perpetuate the Memory of so important a Service, A Monument should be erected, with an Inscription upon it to the Honour of the Women: All this could not however prevent the Ladies from making a Purse among themselves for an Image of *Female Fortune*, which was placed in the new Temple, and dedicated to that Goddess.

Coriolanus in the mean time led back the *Volscians* to *Antium*, some of whom could not forbear expressing their Resentment, that by the Weakness of their General, they had lost an Opportunity of taking *Rome*, and utterly destroying their ancient Enemies. *Tullus*, a leading Man in the *Volscian* Senate, who had long envied the Glory of *Coriolanus*, used all his Arts to increase these Murmurs: He required

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Coriolanus to lay down his Commission instantly, and give an Account of his Administration. *Coriolanus*, who foresaw he must inevitably perish, if he was once reduced to a private Condition, and *Tullus* should succeed him as General of the Army, answered with great Prudence, That *He would surrender his Commission, whenever it was demanded of him by the Volscian States from whom he received it, and that in the mean time he was very ready to give an Account of his Conduct to the Antiates.* This Proposal appeared too reasonable to be rejected: The People of *Antium* were therefore convened, before whom *Coriolanus* was accused by *Tullus*, and some other popular Orators, of Betraying the Trust that had been reposed in him. *Coriolanus* was not only a Man of *Letters*, but naturally *Eloquent*; his Cause was not so bad, but that much might be said in his Behalf. When his Accusers had done, he rose up, and with an Air that expressed neither too much Confidence, nor too much Dejection, was about to speak and make his Defence. *Tullus* and his Partisans, who observed him not at all disordered,

ordered, began now to fear the Event: They dreaded the Impressions his Eloquence might make upon a Popular Assembly, and therefore cried out, That *A Traytor to their Country ought not to be heard*; At the same time drawing their Daggers, they rushed at once upon him: *Coriolanus* was unarmed, and made no Offer to defend himself; so that covered with Wounds, but without fetching a single Groan, he fell at last in the midst of the Assembly.

It is certain, that though the most considerable Citizens of *Antium*, and the Majority of the Assembly, did not approve of his being thus Assassinated, yet they appeared too passive while the Action was committing: Not a Sword was drawn, or a single Arm lifted up in his Defence. The *Volscian* States were, indeed, dissatisfied that so fair an Opportunity of taking *Rome* was lost; yet when they heard *Coriolanus* was dead, their Pity overcame their Resentments. They now began to reflect, that his very Crime carried its own Excuse in some measure with it; and that though

though he had prevented their taking *Rome*, their Army had never lain before it, had it not been conducted by such a General. They now remembered his Resolution in the Field, and Prudence in Council, his Courage in Battles, and Eloquence in their Senates; that most of the Cities now in their Possession, were taken or recovered by his Conduct. Upon all these Considerations, they determined to give him the greatest Funeral Honours. They laid his Corps upon a most magnificent Bier, and habited in those Robes which he had formerly worn as their General. The Bier was borne upon the Shoulders of the most considerable Men among the *Volsca*n States. Before it were carried the Spoils which he had obtained, the Crowns which he had won, and the Plans of all those Cities he had taken. While his Funeral Pile was burning, a great Number of Victims were slain in Honour to his Memory: Lastly, they interred his Ashes, and erected a magnificent Monument over them.

When the News of *Coriolanus's* Death was brought to *Rome*, the Senate gave no Demonstration either of *Joy* or *Concern*. They might probably conceive it beneath the Dignity of a *Roman* Senate, either to insult a dead Enemy, or to shew any Concern for a Man who had appeared in Arms against his Country. The Women could not hear of his Death with the same Indifference ; they regarded him at least as a brave, tho' an unfortunate Man ; as a Man, who when his Story should be told in future Ages, would stand a remarkable Instance of the *Power* of their Sex ; and that neither *Wisdom* nor *Courage* can protect the Heart of Man against the Attacks of *Beauty* and *Virtue* ; They therefore desired the Senate's Permission to *Put themselves in Mourning*. The Senate, far from being displeased with their Petition, readily granted their Request. The Ladies wore Mourning for *Coriolanus* *Ten Months* : being the same Time which in those Days they mourned at *Rome*,

Rome, for the Death of a Father, a Son, or a Brother. *

My Country-Women, from this Story which I have extracted for their Service out of several *Greek* and *Latin* Authors, may form to themselves a pretty just Notion of the *Roman* Ladies. They will see in the following Sheets, of what Metal the *Spartan* Women were made: I shall only add on this Head, that one of the great Designs of History, is to ingage us to imitate the Virtues, and to avoid the Vices of those who have lived before us; and that though it is scarce to be supposed, the Ladies of *Great Britain* will ever have an Opportunity of signalizing themselves in so remarkable a Manner as *Volumnia*, *Virgilia* and *Valeria* did, yet that 'tis highly probable, their Power and Influence over particular Men, may be often employ'd for the real Service and Benefit of their Country.

* I could not help pursuing my Story thus far, because I think this *last Action* of the *Roman Ladies*, is a very fine Instance of their *Humanity*, their *Politeness*, and their *Good Sense*.

In my Letter to *Cleomenes*, I have dwelt pretty long upon THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS; because I must confess, I take it to be a Subject of the *utmost Importance*; I have endeavoured to shew how reasonable this *Liberty* is in itself, and how beneficial to Mankind in general. How absolutely necessary it is for a Nation who would preserve its *Freedom*, and how far it was made use of at *Rome* and *Athens*, while those two glorious Commonwealths had the least *Shadow* of *Liberty* left among them.

The History of *Pericles*, whose *ill Conduct* occasioned the Destruction of the *Athenian Commonwealth*, contains some Particulars, worthy the Reflection of any Nation who would preserve their *Liberties* and their *Honour*.

Some of my Readers may possibly think it a little unnatural, to mix Antient with Modern History: To which I answer, That the real Advantage of History, is to enable us from the Knowledge of past Trans-

Transactions, to form a right Judgment on present Occurrences. *Machiavel*, both in his *Prince*, and his excellent *Discourses* upon *Livy*, has constantly mingled antient and modern Histories, and made them mutually serve to embellish and illustrate one another. The Danger we should chiefly guard against in reading antient History, is not to be so far dazzled with the great Actions and noble Sentiments of any of the Ancients, as to become Admirers of all the Laws, and of every Part of that Constitution they lived under. Many Accidents, such as The Scituation of a Country, The Natural Genius of the People, The present Condition of its neighbouring States, &c. may make the same Things, which are highly eligible in one State, no less pernicious and destructive in another. It therefore requires the strongest Judgment, in those who read History, and have any Share in the Government of their Country, to determine how far the *Athenians*, the *Lacedemonians*, and *Romans*, ought to be imitated ; and in what Particulars their Laws, Customs, or Policy, may have been either amended, or wholly chang-

changed for the better, in latter Ages. *Machiavel* has done something like this in his *Art of War*; That great Man, by adding some Parts of the *Roman Discipline*, to other Parts of the Military Discipline which was used in *Italy* in his own Time, has, I think, most evidently demonstrated, that out of these Two, a Third might be formed, much more perfect and compleat than either.

I have often thought that a Comparison between the two famous Institutions of *Solon* and *Lycurgus*, with a fair and impartial Examination in what Parts the one excelled the other, and in what Particulars the *Romans* improved upon both of them, would not only be a *Curious*, but a very *Useful* Work. I had actually gone through a great Part of it, when those Papers, with several others, were most barbarously taken from me; I have however still by me, a *Sketch* of this Design, and if Providence thinks proper to prolong my Days, may, perhaps, once more attempt to execute it. When the *Romans* sent three Ambassadors *

* *Sp. Postumius, S. Sulpicius and A. Manlius.*

into

into *Greece*, to make that Collection of Laws, out of which the Decemvirs afterwards formed their *Twelve Tables*, the Commonwealth of *Athens* was in high Repute: The *Roman* Ambassadors were therefore ordered to go directly to *Athens*: It is extreamly probable, that the Laws which those Ambassadors brought to *Rome* the Year before the Decemvirate, was scarce any thing more than a *Copy of the Laws of Solon*; since we are assured that the *Romans*, for some time after the Decemvirate was abolished, frequently sent a Difficult Cause to be determined in the *Areopagus* at *Athens*. It is however as certain, that when the *Twelve Tables* were composed, a good Part of them was formed upon the Institutions of *Lycurgus*, which happened thus: The Decemvirs were ordered to blend those Laws which were brought out of *Greece*, with the Laws of *Numa Pompilius*, and out of both to form a *complet Body of Law* for the Use of the *Romans*. *Numa* was a *Sabin*, and we are assured by *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, that the *Sabins* were a Colony of *Spartans*, who retain'd the *Lacedemonian Customs*, especially in what

related to War, Frugality, and a laborious Manner of Life, from whence *Horace* calls them the *Rigid Sabines*. But this was not all; *Pythagoras*, not the *Samian Philosopher*, but a Native of *Sparta*, in his Travels through *Italy*, contracted an intimate Friendship with *Numa*, gave him a full Account of the Institutions of *Lycurgus*, and actually assisted *Numa* himself, when that Prince made Laws for the *Romans*. *Numa*, while he gave out that he was conversing with the Goddess *Egeria*, was really consulting his Friend *Pythagoras*; by whose Advice he introduced many of the *Spartan* Laws and Customs into the *Roman* Constitution. The *Decemvirs* plainly improved both the Institutions of *Solon* and *Lycurgus* in several Particulars; And I am fully persuaded, that out of the *Spartan*, the *Athenian*, and the *Roman* Constitution, there might at this Day, be one formed, much more excellent than either of them.

It is equally to be admired and lamented, that we have no Copy of the *Twelve Tables*, containing those *Laws* by which

which *Rome* was governed, which extended themselves, with the *Roman Conquests*, over so great a Part of the World, and which are still the Foundation of the *Civil Law* throughout *Europe*. *Cicero* contemplating these *Tables*, cannot forbear giving them such an Encomium, which as *extravagant* as it may appear to some People, was, perhaps, no more than what they really deserved.*

Though we have lost these *Tables*, I believe it would not be impossible to make a tolerable *Collection* of the *Roman Laws*, from the Writings of several ancient Authors. In those Laws which may be gleaned up in this manner, we cannot

*Plurima est in duodecim Tabulis antiquitatis effigies, quæ verborum prisca vetustas cognoscitur & actionum quædam genera majorum consuetudinem vitamque declarant. Sive quis civilem scientiam contempletur, totam hanc descriptis omnibus Civitatis utilitatibus, ac partibus duodecim Tabulis contineri videbitis; sive quem ista præpotens & gloria Philosphia delectat, dicam audacius, hosce habet fontes omnium disputationum suarum, qui jure civili & legibus continentur. Fremant omnes licet dicam quod Sentio. Bibliothecas, me herculè, omnium Philosopherum unus mihi videtur duodecim Tabularum libellus, si quis legum fontes, & capita viderit, & autoritatis pondere & utilitatis ubertate superare. Cic.

sufficiently admire two Things, *viz.* Their *Brevity* and their *Perspicuity*: But I find I am entering farther into this Subject than I intended.

What is said in the following Sheets, does, I think, naturally enough flow from the *Text* I am then *handling*; or, in other Words, from that *Paragraph* of Cleomenes's Letter which I am then *Answering*; yet I must own, I am in no great Pain as to this Point; If the *Matter* I lay before my Readers is but *agreeable* to them, they are rather the more obliged to me for stepping a little *out of the Way* to fetch it in.

As I have already assumed this *Liberty*, I shall make no Scruple to take it for the future; but shall act like a Man who rides out purely for his Diversion, and who if he discovers an agreeable Object, leaves the *Road* he was *in*, and spurs up to take a View of it. I can justify myself in this Practice, if it be necessary, from the Example of several celebrated Authors.

A Man who takes up *Montaign*, and pretends to guess at the *Contents* of any Chapter, from the *Title*, will find himself, generally speaking, extreamly mistaken ; and yet the *Rambles* of this lively old *Gascon*, are, in the Opinion of many People, the greatest *Beauties* in his Writings : 'Tis pretty plain he put *Scaliger* quite out of Breath to follow him, and that the *Learned* and *Methodical Critick* cannot help now and then *envying* the Man he resolves to *Scold* at.

But I should rather chuse to shelter myself in this Case, under the Protection of two Gentlemen of the present Age ; who, in the Opinion of all good Judges, are allowed to stand in the *first Class* of Writers : I mean the present Earl of *Orrery*, and the late Monsieur *Bayle*.

The *first* of these two excellent *Authors*, in his *Examination of Dr. Bentley's Differ- tions on the Epistles of Phalaris*, condescends sometimes to ask his Reader's *Pardon* for a *Digression*, which if he had omitted,

omitted, they ought never to have *forgiven* him: By the help of several *little Diggessions*, he has flung an infinite deal of *Wit* and *Humour* into a *Controversy*, of itself the least *entertaining*, that a *Man of Sense* could well have been engaged in: His Lordship has so contrived it, that even the *Gay* and *Polite* read a Book with *Pleasure*, in which he was obliged to dispute about *Scazons* and *Anapæstics*; to determine after what *Pause* a *Trochée* or *Tribrach* might be properly admitted; and to descend at last to *Accents*, *Encliticks*, and *Parapleromatick Particles*.

Monsieur *Bayle*, under the Title of *Several Thoughts upon the Comet which appeared in 1680*, * has wrote four Volumes in a close *Dutch Print*: In these Books he has discoursed upon a great Variety of Particulars in Religion, History, Politicks, Physicks, Poetry, &c. In a Word, he

* Pensées diverses Ecrites à un Docteur de Sorbonne A l'Occasion de la Comète qui parut au Mois de Decembre 1680.

has made no manner of Scruple to introduce *any Subject* he had a mind to write upon, however foreign it seemed to the *Title* of his *Book*: The Excuse he makes for this manner of Proceeding, serves my Purpose so well, and is so much better than any thing I can say for myself, that I shall take the Liberty to borrow it from him.

This learned Writer, after observing how often he went out of his Way, to lay some curious Observation, or Piece of History, before his Readers; *I hope however,* says he, *That my Readers will not be sorry,* *that they now and then lose the Sight of my Comet for so many Pages together;* Nay, *I do not know whether this Book may not have the same Fortune with the famous Picture of the Satyr and the Partridge, drawn by Protagenes.* *The Satyr was what the Painter had chiefly in his View;* *The Partridge was only flung into the Piece by way of Decoration;* and yet the best Judges of Painting, were better pleased with the Picture of the Partridge than that of the Monster.

I have

I have inserted Cleomenes's Letter *Paragraph* by *Paragraph*; that my Readers might see whether I have, or have not fairly answered whatever this *Illustrious Author* has thought fit to advance: I have always looked upon it to be extreamly *mean* and *low*, either to *Misquote* an Adversary's Words, or to represent his *Arguments* in a *false Light*: Of my Notes, some are *Critical*; the rest are intended for the Use of such Persons as have not been conversant in *History*.

What I have wrote, is most sincerely intended for the Benefit of that *Country*, whose Welfare, by all the Laws of *God* and *Nature*, I conceive myself obliged to promote to the utmost of my Power and Abilities. Having now lived some Years in the World; Having conversed familiarly with some of the greatest Men this Age has produced; Having endeavoured to understand the Constitution of that Country in which I was born, and Made some few Observations *Abroad*; I am from all these fully convinced, that such

is the happy Scituation of *Great Britain*, that it might easily become one of the *richest* and most *powerful* States in *Europe*. I am likewise convinced, that there is no Occasion for any *refined Policy* to bring this about. That, on the contrary, we need only follow those Maxims which *Nature* plainly points out to us: Nay, what is still more, that Providence has been so very indulgent to this Island, That we must commit the most manifest Errors in Policy, Sin against the Light of Nature, contrive Schemes, and even be *busy* to bring about our own *Destruction*, before we can thoroughly accomplish it.

I am sensible that no Author was ever yet fortunate enough to please all his Readers: I do not doubt, but some People will imagine I have said *too much*, and others, *too little*: I have nothing to say to these; but there is a third Sort, who, though they agree with me in most Points, may very possibly be a little disgusted at some particular Passages: I only beg Leave to assure such, That I endeavour to write

to some *End*. That I thought *twice* before I *wrote*; and that if they will but do me the Favour to think as often before they *Censure*, I do not entirely despair of obtaining their Pardon, for what at first Sight, may, perhaps, displease them.

I have but one thing more to add: Most of my Books and Papers have been taken from me, in a cruel and an illegal Manner: I am under Confinement; disabled from coming at some Authors I would have consulted, and obliged to trust much more to my own Memory than I could have wished. If under these Circumstances, I should have made some little Mistake in any Historical Fact, I humbly trust, from the Candour and Humanity of the *learned World*, that they will not be too severe upon me in such a Case.



A
LETTER
TO
CLEOMENES,
KING of
SPARTA,
FROM
Eustace Budgell, Esq;



A
LETTER
TO
CLEOMENES,
KING of
S P A R T A,
FROM
Eustace Budgell Esq;

— Solamen habeto
Mortis, ab Æmonio quod sis jugulatus Achille.
Ov. Metam. Lib. xii.

Most Mighty Monarch,



HOUGH I find I am to *fall*,
it is at least some Pleasure to
me to consider that I shall *fall*
by so great a *Hand* as your
Majesty's; and *this Reflection*
determin'd me in the Choice of my *Motto*,

[B]

Before

Before I submit to my Fate, I am likewise pleased to see the glorious and happy Condition of my native Country : The Affairs of *Great-Britain* are, it seems, become considerable enough to make a Noise even in the other World, and to divide the most illustrious Shades of the Ancients into different Fac-tions : *Cato*, *Socrates*, *Phocion*, *Publicola*, *Aristides*, and *Camillus*,* have long since appeared among us ; and shewn more *Warmth* and *Passion* in attacking and defending some *English* Ministers, than ever they did in Behalf of those different Parties they formerly espoused at *Rome* or *Athens* ; I find even your Majesty is at last become a *Knight Errant*, and has made a Sally from the Banks of *Stix* in Defence of a *noble Person*, whose *publick Spirit* and other *Virtues* do so nearly resemble those of the ancient *Spartans*. I have read with a proper Attention, your Majesty's Epistle to the worthy Author of the *Daily Courant* ; and as I find I have the Honour to be the *Subject* of it, it would be an unpardonable Breach of good Manners, if

* The Names of these great Men have been subscrib'd to several Letters printed in our Weekly Journals, and other publick News-Papers.

if I should not return your Majesty an Answer : I should have done this sooner, had I not been prevented by some *Circumstances*, to which I believe your Majesty is not altogether a Stranger. Though I am treated in your Epistle, with as much Haughtiness and Contempt, as your Majesty could have expressed to one of your *Heliotes* ;* yet in my Answer to your Majesty, I shall keep myself within the strictest Rules of Decency and good Manners. I am determin'd to this upon two Considerations ; first, upon Account of the Figure your Majesty once made in the World ; and seconly, because your Majesty's Royal Style and Way of Writing, does so exactly resemble a *most noble Person's*, with whom I had formerly the Honour to be acquainted : I shall pay a proper Regard to each of your princely Sentiments : That I may not disguise them by presuming to cloath them in my vulgar Style, I shall lay them before my Readers in your own Words, and just as your Majesty caused

[B 2]

them

* The *Heliotes* were a People whom the *Spartans* having conquer'd, made their Slaves ; and used with a *Bear-bility*, which is hardly to be justify'd

A LETTER

them to be inserted in the *Daily Courant* of May 27.

YOUR Royal Epistle begins thus :

To the Author of the Daily Courant.

SIR,

"THE well-known extraordinary Proceeding of Mr. EUSTACE BUDGELL at his Majesty's Levee, having made some Noise in the World, allow me to communicate those Hints to the Publick, which may convey, as I apprehend, a much juster Notion than has yet been entertain'd of that Affair."

IT is the utmost Satisfaction to me to find, that your Majesty and I do at least agree in one Particular ; namely, that *The well-known extraordinary Proceeding of Mr. Eustace Budgell* was at the *Levee* of the King of *Great Britain* ; because I have been inform'd, that your Majesty has formerly reported this *well-known Proceeding* was in the *Drawing-Room* : I am sure the Publick will pay so much Defence to any Hints your Majesty shall descend

descend to communicate to them, in order to correct their *Notions* about this Affair, that I shall no longer detain them from so agreeable an Entertainment, but proceed to transcribe the next Paragraph of your Majesty's Epistle; which runs thus :

“ These, Sir, neither the Publick, nor
“ yourself, had been troubled with, had
“ Mr. BUDGELL been left to the Manage-
“ ment of his own Concern; which seems to
“ have been of a private Nature, and rela-
“ ted principally to his own particular In-
“ terest; for though his Method of conduct-
“ ing it, might make him the Object of much
“ Ridicule and Contempt, yet it could not
“ possibly have stood in need of being more
“ publickly exposed, than such Treatment
“ would furnish; but a Set of artful ill
“ Men, taking the Advantage of the great
“ Weakness of this unhappy Person, have
“ been making a Tool of him; and, in short,
“ having work'd him up to an Impertinence
“ within Doors, are now endeavouring to
“ make him noisy and factious without: And
“ these are Circumstances which will justify
“ an open Opposition.”

I AM overjoy'd to find even by this *second Paragraph*, that your Majesty's Way of thinking is much nearer my own than it was formerly : Your Majesty is pleased to intimate, that I am a very *weak Man* ; and this I readily grant : Since your Majesty is graciously pleased to allow me at present, not to be downright *distracted*, I am resolved to have no Manner of Dispute with your Majesty, either about the *Strength* or *Quantity* of my Understanding. Your Majesty says next, that I am an *unhappy Person* ; and this is likewise most certainly *true* ; yet, I beg Leave to tell your Majesty, that some of your Royal Predecessors have rather chose to *assist*, than to *make unhappy Men*. The next kind Thing your Majesty says of me, is, that I am *a Tool*; and by your Majesty's putting the Word *Tool*, both here and elsewhere in *Capital Letters*, your Majesty seems to have a very particular Affection for *Tools* : I would not be thought to insinuate, that your Majesty is about such Work as none but Men that are *very Tools* would ever engage in. These several Circumstances of my being *weak, unhappy, and a Tool*, your Majesty seems to think

think will justify your *open Opposition* to me : I humbly conceive the Words *open Opposition*, in the Mouth of a Prince, signify *War*; so that I am to look upon this Epistle of your Majesty's, as an *open* and formal *Declaration of War*. I am very sensible how unequal I am to the Encounter ; yet, with a *good Cause* on my Side, if I cannot *conquer*, I shall endeavour at least to *fall like an Englishman*.

YOUR Majesty proceeds thus :

“ *To retain this new Implement of Scan-*
“ *dal, how alter'd is the Tone on his Be-*
“ *half? What Encomiums are there not*
“ *wanted? and how stuffed at present are the*
“ *Papers with the Praises of Mr. BUDGELL,*
“ *who but a few Months before, had been*
“ *represented by the same Faction that now*
“ *cry him up, as an Impostor and a Buffoon,*
“ *and publickly set in as ridiculous a Light,*
“ *as their Wit and Invention could place*
“ *him? How far his late Behaviour has made*
“ *it evident he had then no Injustice done*
“ *him, let those, best acquainted with it,*
“ *determine.”*

8 A LETTER

THERE is so little Difference between a *Tool* and an *Implement*, that I don't think your Majesty has much added in the first Sentence of *this Paragraph*, to the Favour you conferred upon me in the *preceding*. I confess, in the *next Sentence*, your Majesty tells me a Piece of News : I am so far from knowing that the publick Papers have been stuffed with my *Praises* and *Encomiums*, that I profess to your Majesty, I don't know that all the Papers together have said so much about me, as your Majesty has done in *this terrible Satire* which I am now endeavouring to answer, and which almost fills up a whole *Daily Courant*. Your Majesty surprizes me no less, on the other Hand, by acquainting me, that *I was represented but a few Months since as an Impostor and a Buffoon, by that very Faction who are now so loud in my Praises* ; but we shall see your Majesty demonstrate this Point so very plainly in your *next Paragraph*, that, I think, no Body for the future can entertain the least Doubt about it.

YOURS

YOUR Majesty is pleased to conclude the Paragraph I am now answering, with a most gracious Sentence ; and has caused it to be all printed in the *Italick Character*, to distinguish it from *every other Part* of your Royal Epistle. The Sentence I mean is this : *How far his late Behaviour has made it evident he had then no Injustice done him, let those, best acquainted with it, determine.*

THIS is very good and gracious : I remember when your Majesty was King of *Lacedæmon*, you did not always let your Subjects determine as they thought fit ; and the *Ephori*, the chief Magistrates in *Sparta*, happening to differ in Opinion from your Majesty, in order to end the Dispute, you hired some *Affassines*, and very fairly cut their Throats. To tell you the Truth, I never look'd upon this Prank to be one of the most glorious of your Actions ; and I am glad to find that you remember at present, you are writing to *Englishmen*, who, to let you into a Secret, will take the *Liberty* to determine as *common Sense* and *Reason* shall direct them, whether your *Spartan* Majesty will, or will not, allow them to do so.

YOUR

YOUR Majesty proceeds thus :

" But to make it plain, Mr. Budgell has
" no Injury offered him here ; and at the
" same Time let Mankind see what Notion
" his present Confederates then had, how
" chang'd soever it may be since, of his re-
" ceiving and entertaining his Majesty in
" his Way to New-Market, upon his own
" Estate, as he pretended, which has of late
" been so much talk'd of, I am under a Ne-
" cessity of transcribing, which I shall do
" with the utmost Exactness, a printed Let-
" ter in Mist's Journal, April 27, 1728.
" which is as follows :

Berkshire, April 25. after the 1st.

Arra, Sir,

" **I** Am, by my Shoul, after being out of
" Patience to hear my Cousin Budg -- 1
" talk in the Daily Post that comes out Yes-
" terday of an Estate of his in Hertfordshire,
" three Quarters of a Mile all a-long by the
" Side of the Road, Faith, reaching from one
" End

" End to t'other now. --- Now then, by
" Christ, I have in Berkshire as good an
" Estate as Cousin B --- I have in Hert-
" fordshire, and it lying all in the Road, and
" upon the Highway, Faith. ---- I had a
" Person of great Quality with four Coaches
" and six Horses all a-foot, with six Chair-
" men all in a Coach, besides a great many
" Foot-Soldiers on Horseback, all went
" through my Estate for thirty Miles toge-
" ther; and though some of them had all
" eaten very heartily at Dinner, they con-
" descended to eat nothing with me.

Arra, I am, dear Sir, Yours,

MATT. LACKLAND.

IN order to make it very *plain*, that I was represented as an *Impostor* and a *Buffoon*, but a few *Months* since by a certain *Faction*, as your Majesty is pleased to call them, you have here transcrib'd, with the utmost *Exactness*, a Letter, which, according to your own Account of it, was printed in *Mist's Journal* above two Years ago. I confess, I begin to think it an unpardonable Presumption

to

to dispute any longer with a Monarch, who so clearly *demonstrates* whatever he *asserts*: I could not reflect, that I had been often represented, either as an *Ape*, a *Coxcomb*, an *Impostor*, or a *Buffoon*; nor could I readily comprehend how I had deserved all these *Civil Titles*, for having shewn a little Respect to my Prince, and provided a small Collation for him on that Spot of Ground where his Predecessors King *Charles II.* and the late King *William*, vouchsafed to refresh themselves in their Way to *New-Market*: However, upon what your Majesty was pleased to assert, I examin'd the *Publick Papers* in *April, 1728.* and in the *Craftsman*, the *Daily-Post*, and *Mist's Journal*, I find an Article, which gives an Account of the King of Great-Britain's going to *New-Market*, and mentions something relating to myself; I will lay this *Article* before my Readers: I must own I set down the *first Part* of it, to shew the unfeigned Joy of People of all Ranks at his present Majesty's *Accession to the Throne*: I may say, without the least Suspicion of Flattery, that never any Prince came to the Crown more generally beloved: The Satisfaction of the middling Sort

Sort of People, who had no *Views* at Court, no Hopes of either *Places* or *Pensions*, is hardly to be conceived: I was an *Eye-Witness* of what all our Publick Papers observed in 1728. *viz.* with what uncommon *Transports* and *Acclamations* the King was met in his Way to *New-Market*: I shall make no Scruple to add, That, if the Conduct of any Minister *since that Time* has deprived his Royal Master of any Part of the *Affections of his Subjects*, he has robb'd his Prince of a *Treasure*, for which all his own *Services*, though they were an hundred Times greater than they are, will never be able to make him Amends.

I CHUSE to transcribe the Article I have mentioned, out of the *Craftsman*, because I have heard, and do verily believe, that the Writers of that Paper are above *taking Bribes*, and never insert any *Account* in their News because they are *paid* for it. I know who the Gentleman was that both *wrote* and *sent up* the following *Account* from *Bishop-Stortford*: As it may, perhaps, be thought criminal at present, for any Man to speak of me a little kindly, I shall not presume to name him;

him; yet as he is in Possession of a good Fortune, and is entirely independent, I dare say he will not refuse to let me mention his Name, should any Accident make it *necessary*. I have already said why I insert the *first Part* of this Article; I beg Leave to add, that nothing should have made me quote the *latter Part*, but as it is a *direct Answer* to an Assertion in your Majesty's Epistle.

From the *Graftsman* of Saturday, April 27:
1728.

London, April 27.

“ **O**N Tuesday Morning about Nine
“ o'Clock, his Majesty set out from St.
“ James's for New-Market, attended in the
“ Coach by the Earl of Scarborough Master
“ of the Horse, the Earl of Cholmondry Gold-
“ Staff Officer, and the Lord Clinton Gentle-
“ man of the Bed-Chamber in Waiting, con-
“ ducted by a Party of the Fourth Troop of
“ Guards, which is to be relieved by a Par-
“ ty of the Lord Cobham's Horse.

“ The King was met in all the Towns
“ and Villages, through which he passed in

“ his Journey to *New-Market*, by vast Multitudes of People of all Ranks ; who testify’d their Pleasure in seeing his Majesty, with Acclamations, Ringing of Bells, and all other Demonstrations of Joy, particularly at the following Place :

Bishop-Stortford, in Hertfordshire, Apr. 23.

“ This Day his Majesty passed by this Place ; and in order to avoid a long, narrow hollow Way, drove for above three Quarters of a Mile over the Estate of *Eustace Budgell Esq*; who, we are informed, was a near Relation to the late Mr. Secretary *Addison*, and had some Share with that great and good Man in composing those inimitable Picces, called the SPEC-TATORS. Mr. *Budgell's* Estate lies two Miles from us, and twenty-five from *New-Market* ; and as he is now in the Country, he had taken Care to have a large Tent pitch’d in one of his Fields, through which the King was to pass, with a very handsome Cold Collation, ready on the Table ; and tho’ his Majesty had just din’d before, he was pleased to stop and take a Glass “ of

" of Wine, as did also several of his Attendants: A vast Number of People who assembled together upon Mr. *Budgell's* Estate on this Occasion, had Wine and Ale given them, to drink the Health of his Majesty, the Queen, and all the Royal Family. The King and some of the Nobility, flung Money amongst the Populace."

I AM humbly of Opinion, it appears by the preceding Article, that I was not thought a *Tool*, an *Ape*, an *Impostor*, and a *Buffoon*, but a few Months since, by those Sort of People whom your Majesty is pleased to call a *Faction*. I find your Majesty's Definition of a *factionous Person*, is, *a Man who is not an humble and implicite Admirer of the Conduct and Abilities of your Majesty's Hero*. Now, according to this Definition, whether, upon a modest Computation, *forty-nine out of Fifty*, of the King of Great-Britain's Subjects, are not *factionous Persons*, is a Point that, if I had Leisure enough for it, might well deserve a particular Enquiry. It is very certain, that in *Mist's Journal of April 27.* that most ingenious *Letter* is inserted, which your Majesty assures

us you have transcribed *with the utmost Exactness*: It is not impossible but your Majesty, if you had thought proper, could also have acquainted the Publick *how it came there*. I must own, that notwithstanding that inimitable Vein of *Wit* and *Humour*, which runs through this whole Piece, I am afraid it might still have slept in Obscurity, and perhaps have been intirely lost to Posterity, had not your Majesty rendered it *immortal*, by transcribing it *with the utmost Exactness* into your own Writings. I am of Opinion, that your Majesty was chiefly induced to take so much Pains about this incomparable Piece, that it might remain as the *Standard* and *Pattern* of fine Writing in the *Epistolary Way*: Yet as we are to suppose this Letter was wrote by a *Gentleman of Ireland*, who often calls me *Cousin*, your Majesty might possibly think it likewise to be a plain *Demonstration* of the Truth of that Report, which has been spread with so much Industry, *viz.* that *I was a Native of that Kingdom*. If *Ireland* had really been my native Country, I should not have been at all ashamed to own it; having known several Gentlemen of that Kingdom (which deserves

better Usage than it has often met with) who had as much Honour and Probity as any Englishman; yet having already shewn how false the above-mentioned Report is, in my Postscript to the sixth Edition of my *Letter to the Craftsman*, I shall take no further Notice of it in this Place.

You go on in your Epistle thus:

“ *What a Jest is here made of the very Circumstance Mr. BUDGELL seems to found all his Pretensions on, and by the very Persons he seems to have paid for publishing this his Merit to the World; but in how different a Strain they at present talk, the Town’s too-well acquainted to want further Information. I would only therefore just observe what is matter of Merit with these People; Let a Man be ever so great a Coxcomb, let him have been grossly ridiculous, or made himself justly the Subject of the most publick Detraction, as in the Case above, yet let him but once become the Instrument of Detraction, and attempt to defame the Administration, his Folly all vanishes; he’s no longer*

" an Ape with them ; they unsay all they
 " said before ; and from that Moment the
 " Man becomes a Patriot ; and is wise, and
 " learned, and good, and great ; is all
 " Desert, and has every excellent Quality
 " that can adorn or accomplish him.

A CERTAIN facetious Writer, * giving an Account of the State of Affairs in the lower Regions, tells us, as I remember, that *Julius Cæsar* was become a *Ballad-Singer* ; that *Alexander the Great* was turn'd *Corn-Cutter* ; and that the famous *Semiramis* kept a *Brandy-Shop*. I shall not pretend to guess, what particular Employment your Majesty may have followed upon the Banks of *Styx* ; but am heartily sorry to see, that your old *Spartan* Principles are so terribly debauched, and am afraid you have lately kept but indifferent Company. When you appeared upon the *British Theatre*, some Years since, under the Title of *the Spartan Hero*, † you endeavour'd to inspire your Auditors, with the most generous and noble Sentiments, with a *Fortitude* superior to all Adversity, with

* Mr. Thomas Brown.

† A Play of Mr. Dryden's.

the most ardent *Love for their Country*, and the utmost *Contempt of Death* in a good Cause. In a Word, you then stood the Pattern of every Virtue that ought to adorn a King, and an Hero. Your *Veracity*, in particular, was so unblemished, and your *Word* held so *sacred*, that *Cleonidas*, speaking of what you had promised, cries out,

*Nay, if the King of Sparta says he'll do't,
I ask no more than that ;
For 'tis below a King to say what's false.*

After you have made such a Figure in the World, it is with no small Concern, I find my self oblig'd to tell your Majesty, that the very first Sentence of the last Paragraph, transcribed from your Letter, is a *down-right Falshood*. You are pleased to assert, that I seem to found *all my Pretensions* upon so pitiful a Foundation, as the having shewn my own Sovereign a little Mark of decent Respect, and prepared a small Refreshment for him, as he passed over my Estate. I am so far from founding *all my Pretensions* on this Circumstance, that I never pretended to found *any* upon it; nor should ever have thought

thought of so much as once *mentioning* of it, had I not been *obliged* to do so in answer to your Letter. No, Sir, if ever I should solicit the King of *Great Britain*, for a Post or a Pension, which *I never yet presumed to do*, I am humbly of Opinion, that your Majesty knows, I could found my *Preten-sions* on a much more *solid Basis*, than either *this Circumstance*, or that *Poem*, which you are falsely pleased to imagine I am so very *fond* of. I pretend to no *Merit* on *either of these Accounts*: I have done but very little more than my *Duty*; and yet I must confess, on the other hand, I cannot possibly think, that my having shewn a little *Respect* to one of the best and greatest Princes, that ever sat on the *British Throne*, when Providence had brought him so near my poor Cottage; I say, I cannot possibly think, that *This was so heinous a Crime*, as to deserve my being call'd by your Majesty in Print, a *Coxcomb* of the first Magnitude; to be told in your *own Words*, that upon *this very Account* I have been *grossly ridiculous*, and made my self *justly* the *Subject* of the *publick Derision*. I am sorry, if I have offended your Majesty by so small a

[C 3] Testimony

Testimony of Respect for my *lawful Sovereign*; and yet I must confess, I know not how to repent of what I did. My King was far from shewing any Marks of Displeasure; and I expected *nothing* more than *his* gracious Acceptance. If any about him, conscious of the Manner in which they had used me, or out of a *pitiful Jealousy*, too shameful to be avowed, endeavoured to prevent him from doing me the *Justice* to believe me a *Loyal Subject*; The Action was exceedingly *poor* and *mean*, and I take this publick Opportunity to tell them so.

IN the latter End of the Paragraph I am answering, you are pleased to intimate, that some People declare I am *wise*, and *learned*, and *good*, and *great*; that I am *all Desert*, and have every *excellent Quality*, that can either *adorn* or *accomplish*. I profess, Sir, you tell me a *Piece of News*. I am very sensible, I am far from deserving such a Character; nor do I know any People that have conferred it upon me. If your Majesty does, I am sorry I must say, that I know not how to *Return the Compliment*: The Truth is, that I never yet heard any Person give your Majesty

Majesty the same Character. I shall therefore proceed to the next Paragraph in your Letter.

" It of Course comes in here, to mention a
" Pamphlet which has been one Consequence
" of the laudable Practisings of these wor-
" thy Gentlemen, upon their new Agent,
" subsequent to his Petition; but finding
" the Town is this Day promised a full
" Reply to it from another Hand, I shall
" omit what I further designed, and do little
" more than just mention it. This motly
" Performance, like its Author, would be
" below all Notice, but to prevent the bad
" Uses which might otherwise be made
" of it: It abounds with Improbabilities,
" Falsehoods, and Indecency. The Author
" seems to make an ungentlemanly Discov-
" very of Private Conversation: He begins
" with the most fulsome Commendations of
" a Poem of his own; and concludes like a
" Desperado, who regardless of what at-
" tends himself, is ready for the worst Mis-
" chief he can be put upon to others."

YOUR Majesty in this Paragraph, is pleased to fall upon a certain Pamphlet, intitled, a *Letter to the Craftsman*; which I thought my self *obliged* to publish, to shew the World how much I was abused by the *Misrepresentation* of undeniable *Matters of Fact*: Your short Account of this Pamphlet is, That it abounds with *Improbabilities*, *Falsehoods*, and *Indecency*: As a Model therefore for future Writers, I presume you are graciously pleased to publish your *own Letter*, which abounds with *Probabilities*, *Truth*, and *good Manners*. How much it abounds with *Truth*, your very next Sentence is a most *flagrant Instance*: Your Majesty very roundly affirms, that in my Pamphlet I seem to make an *ungentlemanly Discovery of private Conversation*. I presume, when you made this Assertion, you had the following Paragraph *full* in your *Eye*, in Page the 29th, of my Letter to the *Craftsman*, where speaking of Sir R. W. I say;

“ HAVING taken Notice, that I was once
“ well acquainted with this great Man, I
“ must endeavour to take from my self the
least

“ least Imputation of the two most odious
“ Crimes upon Earth; I mean *Ingratitude* and
“ *Treachery*. Whoever can be guilty of
“ these, may very possibly have a Soul
“ black enough to be guilty of *any Thing*;
“ and I should a little doubt, whether a
“ Man, who had once been false to his
“ *Friend*, could ever be *true* to his *King*, or
“ his *Country*. I hope, I shall not be
“ thought guilty of *Ingratitude*, since I can
“ very truly affirm, that Sir R. W. has had
“ some small Obligations to me; but if ever
“ I received the least *Favour*, *Assistance*,
“ or *Kindness*, of any sort from Sir R. W.
“ it is certain I have never acknowledged it
“ as I ought to have done; and I must confess
“ that my Memory is extremely unfaithful.
“ *Treachery* is the next Vice to *Ingratitude*;
“ and I am therefore fully determined, what-
“ ever I suffer, to do nothing contrary to
“ the Rules of *Honour*. Sir R. W. is not
“ in the least obliged to me for this Resolu-
“ tion: I have taken it, not for *his* sake,
“ but my *own*.”

How fully the preceding Paragraph
proves your Assertion, viz. That I seem to
W make

make an *ungentlemanly Discovery of private Conversation*, the Publick will judge: But if this Paragraph does not prove it, I do hereby defy your Majesty to produce a *single Line* more to your Purpose in my whole Pamphlet. At the same Time, I cannot help observing, that if a *Lex Talionis* is just, and some *Particulars* are true, of which I have been credibly informed, the Hero of your Majesty's Epistle has the least Right of any Man living, to insist upon a strict Observation of the Rules of Honour in this Point. You are pleased to observe next, that I begin my Pamphlet with the most fulsome Commendation of a Poem of my own. To which I answer, that those *Commendations* are not my *own*, but Mr. Danver's; and that it was *necessary* I should quote them, that the Readers might understand what follows. I must own, I am a little surprised at the *last Sentence* of the Paragraph I am answering; in which your Majesty is pleased to affirm, that *I conclude my Pamphlet like a Desperado, who, regardless of what attends himself, is ready for the worst Mischief he can be put upon to others.* This severe Reflection is made upon the fol-

lowing Words at the End of my *Letter to the Craftsman*, viz. “ *I do assure you, Mr. Danvers, That did I but know how to lay down my Life for the real Service of my poor Country, you should soon see how little I would hesitate to part with it.*” Is this the Sentiment of a *Desperado*, ready for the worst Mischief he can be put upon ? I declare, that *I should not hesitate to lay down my Life for the real Service of my Country* : And is this a Sentiment fit to be censured by a King of *Lacedæmon* ! by a *Spartan Hero* ! and by a Man educated under the Discipline of *Lycurgus* ? The chief Aim of that Law-giver, by all his Institutions, was to inculcate this *Maxim* in the Minds of the *Spartans* ; *That their Lives were not their own, nor ought ever to be valued, when the Good of their Country demanded them.* * Their very *Songs* all turn’d upon this Subject ; and were either *Panegyricks* upon such Men as had died in the Defence of their County, or *Satires* upon those who made the least Scruple

* Mr. Addison had perhaps his Eye upon this Maxim of *Lycurgus’s*, when he made *Cato tell his Son Portius* ;
Thy Life is not thy own, when Rome demands it.

ple to part with their *Lives* in so glorious a *Cause*. They declared the *former* to be *happy*, and a sort of *Demi Gods*; but described the *latter* as *Wretches*, and below the the Condition of *Men*. We find accordingly this Principle so strongly rooted in the *Spartans*, that when their Army was overthrown at *Leuctra*, The Parents, and all the Relations of such as fell in the Field of Battle, appeared publickly rejoicing in the Market-Place, and openly visited and congratulated each other; While the Fathers of those young Fellows who survived, either hid themselves at home, as wholly ashamed of their Children; or if Necessity forced any of them abroad, they appeared with the utmost Dejection in their Countenances, nor durst lift up their Eyes to look upon their Acquaintance. I ought not to omit, that their King *Cleombratus* took care to be number'd among the Slain. Should I offer at giving an Account of all such *Men* among the *Spartans*, as plainly shew'd how little they valued their *own Safety*, whenever they imagin'd it stood in Competition with the *Good of their Country*, I should swell this *Letter* to a *Volume* in Folio: I shall therefore

therefore carry this Point much further, and venture to assure your Majesty, that if at the publick Tables * in *Sparta*, your Majesty had

* *Lycurgus*, in order to banish *Luxury*, and to promote *instructive Conversation*, expressly forbade the *Spartan* Men to eat in Private at their own Houses : They eat together in publick Halls : About fifteen *Spartans* sat at every Table ; and no Man was admitted to any Table where he was not perfectly agreeable to all the Company. The *Spartan Boys* were also admitted to these publick Tables, as to so many Schools, where they were sure to learn *Wisdom* and *Temperance*. The *Spartan Table-talk* ran generally upon *Political Subjects*. Sometimes they indulged themselves in a *genteel Railery* : I may very properly call it a *genteel Railery*, because the Master of the Table always turned the Conversation, if it began to exceed the Bounds of good *Manners*. The Old Men, at these Meals, would put a great many Questions of this kind to the Youths and Boys ; *Who do you take to be a Man of the most Merit in all Sparta ? What do you think of such a Person, or such an Action ?* It was expected, that the Youths should give a ready *Answer*, and in few *Words*, to the Question which was ask'd them. By this means they learnt betimes, what was call'd, throughout all *Greece*, the *Laconic Style*, that is, a *Style* extreamly *short*, but *strong* and *nervous*, and which comprehended much *Matter* in few *Words*. As the Subjects of their Conversation often obliged them to be very particular in Mens *Characters*, whenever a Youth came among them, the eldest Person at the Table, pointing to the Hall-Door, always told him, *Young Man, nothing that is said at this Table, is to go out of that Door.* By this means a young *Spartan* was not only taught how TO SPEAK, but how TO HOLD HIS TONGUE ; and I believe it is the Opinion of very wise Men, that this *last* Piece of Learning is at least as necessary as the *first*. *Lycurgus*, for

had dared to call a Man a *Desperado*, or to tell him he was ready for the worst of Mischief he could be put upon, for no other Reason but his saying, that he should not hesitate to part with his Life for the real Service of his Country; I say, should your Majesty have dared to preach this Doctrine in *Sparta*, if the *Ephori* had not immediately drove you out of *Laconia*, the very Women and Boys, would have pull'd you from your Throne. To prove what I say, give me leave to put your Majesty in Mind of the Behaviour of the *Lacedemonian Ladies*, when your City was besieged by *Pyrrhus*.

THE

for the Reasons above mentioned, so strongly enjoin'd all his *Spartans* to eat in publick, that when their King *Agis*, at his Return from a glorious and successful Expedition, desired Leave to eat at home with his Queen, the *Ephori* not only refused to give him Leave *To eat at home*, but repremanded and fined him, for presuming to make a Request so contrary to the *Spartan Discipline*. It may not be improper to observe here that the *Ephori*, who were five in Number, and chosen out of the People, had a Power superior to the King's: If they sent for him at any Time, he might refuse to obey both their *first* and *second* Summons; But upon the *third* Summons, he was obliged to attend them.

THE Spartans, on the Night before *Pyrrhus* was to make his Assault, had determined in Council to send all their Women over into *Crete*. When the Women were informed of this, they unanimously opposed the Design; and *Archidamia*, a Lady of one of the best Families in *Sparta*, entering the Senate, with a drawn Sword in her Hand, demanded of them, in the Name of her Country-women, *What could make them entertain so mean an Opinion either of their Wives, or their Daughters, as to imagine they were enough in love with Life, to endure to survive the Loss of Sparta?*

THE Senate were equally pleased and surprized with this smart Harangue: They immediately revoked their Order for sending away the Women, and then resolved to draw a Trench in a Line opposite to their Enemies Camp, and to sink Waggons in the Ground, at each end of it, as deep as the Naves of the Wheels, in order to obstruct the Passage of *Pyrrhus's* Elephants. They had no sooner begun this Work, than all the Women and Maids, came to them in a Body, headed

headed by Leaders of their own Sex. They intreated the young Fellows, who were to engage the next Day, to go home and repose themselves, that they might be fit for Action in the Morning; and then joining the elder sort of Men, they assisted them in making the Trench. They took upon themselves a full third Part of it, which they engaged to finish before it was Day; and working all Night, some with their Petty-coats tucked up, and others only in their Shifts, they performed what they had promised. The Trench was finished that Night, tho' *Phylarchus* assures us, it was six Cubits in Breadth, four in Depth, and eight hundred Foot long. As soon as Day appeared, *Pyrrhus*, with an Army of 20000 Foot, 2000 Horse, and 24 Elephants, came on to the Attack. Upon this, the *Spartan* Women arming the Youth with their own Hands, committed the Trench to their Charge. They conjured them to defend it to the last Extremity; and represented to them in the most lively Terms, how glorious it must be either to *conquer* in the View of their whole Country, or to *fall* as became *Spartans*, and to die in the Arms of their Wives,

Wives, and their Mothers. The *Lacedæmonians* thus encouraged, defended themselves with a Valour and Resolution scarce to be conceived. *Phyllius* and *Acrotatus*, (the latter fighting *for*, and *before* his Mistress *Chelidonis*) signalized themselves in such a Manner, as has justly rendered their Names immortal. In a Word, the Enemy were every where repulsed : The Fight only ended with the Day. But *Pyrinus* encouraged by a Dream, led on his *Macedonians* the next Morning to a second Assault : He himself in Person made his utmost Efforts, to force a Passage through the Shields of the *Spartans* ranged against him. He found this impracticable. At length, followed by a few *Macedonians* on Horseback, he made a Shift to pass the *Spartan* Trench, in that Part of it where the Waggons had been planted to stop his Elephants. He was now making in a full Career towards the City, * when his Horse, shot with a *Cretan* Arrow, and flouncing as he dy'd, threw his Rider. The *Spartans* en-
couraged
 [D]

* The City of *Sparta* was not encompassed with any *Wall*, it being one of *Lycurgus's* Maxims, That the *Valour* of its *Inhabitants* was its best *Defence*.

couraged at the Sight of this Accident, ran boldly up, and fell upon the King and his Party with so much *Fury*, as obliged them to repass the Trench ; and *Pyrrhus*, amazed at those prodigious Proofs of *Lacedæmonian* Courage, which he had been an Eye-Witnes of for two Days together, founded a Retreat, and drew off his Army. The *Spartan* Women never stirred from the Field of Battle during these Engagements : They were constantly at hand to supply the Men with Arms ; to give Bread and Wine to such as were fainting, and to take care of the Wounded. The *Græcians* in general thought the Loss of *Sparta* at this time inevitable ; and *Pyrrhus*, the greatest General of his Age, imagined he was so sure of carrying his Point, that he would not suffer his Army to give the Assaule the same Evening he arrived, for fear they should take the City by Storm, and plunder it in the Night. He knew very well there were but few Soldiers in it ; that even these were unprovided, by reason of his unexpected Approach ; and, lastly, that *Areus* their King, was not with them in Person, but gone into *Crete*. Thus, most mighty Monarch, was your City of *Sparta*

preserved, which could never have been done, had not the Ladies, as well as the Men, been fonder of their *Country* than their *Lives*.

IF I was to produce Examples of particular *Women*, who have acted upon this Principle, I need go no farther for them than to your Majesty's own *Family* and *Relations*. If your Majesty had not taken a swinging Draught of * *Lethe*, you could not possibly have forgot what to be sure your own Queen, the Widow of your Predecessor *Agis*, must often have told you, *viz.* That when the *Ephori* had put her Husband, and his Grand-Mother privately to Death, *Agesistrata* his Mother was told that she might, if she pleased, go into the Prison, and see her Son. As soon as she entered, she beheld her own Mother hanging by the Neck, and her Son dead upon the Ground. This Spectacle at first surprized her; but soon recollecting her Spirits, she took down her Mother's Body, and covered

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it

* The Greeks fancied that the *Dead*, as soon as ever they had drank of the River *Lethe*, forgot every Thing that had pass'd in the upper World, while they were alive.

it in a decent Manner ; being then informed that she was also to die, she immediately rose up to meet her Destiny, and only uttered these few remarkable Words : *May the Gods grant, that all this may redound to the Good of Sparta.*

YOUR Majesty's own Mother gave such a Proof of her Love to her Country, as was very little inferior to the Behaviour of *Age-sistrata*. *Ptolemy King of Egypt* had promised to assist you ; but demanded your Mother and Children for Hostages. Your Majesty was at that Time a very hopeful young Man, and a dutiful Son. You wanted the King of *Egypt's* Assistance ; but did not well know how to mention his Proposal to your Mother. You were often going to acquaint her with it ; but when you were just about to speak, your Courage still failed you. Your Majesty in these Circumstances, looked a little awkwardly whenever you made a Visit. Your Mother at laſt, hearing what was the Matter, fell into a Fit of Laughter, and asked you, If that was all you had ſo often a Mind to tell her, when you was afraid to speak to her ? She immedately added ;

Prythee, send this Carcase wherever it may be most serviceable to Sparta, before Age makes it fit for nothing but a Grave. When your Majesty soon after seemed afraid to pursue your own Measures upon the Account of those Pledges you had sent to *Ptolemy*, she wrote a Letter to you, and laid her absolute Commands upon you, *To do whatever was most for the good of Sparta, and not to fear an Egyptian Tyrant, for the sake of a Child and an Old Woman.*

The Mother of *Pausanias*, who obtained the famous Victory at *Platæa*, and took *Byzantium*, when she found that her Son, elated with his Successes, had endeavoured to alter the Constitution of *Sparta*, and to make himself an absolute Prince, was the first Person who brought a Stone to block up the Door of the Temple of *Minerva*, into which *Pausanias* had fled for Refuge, and where, by the Command of the *Ephori*, he was starved to Death. Neither is this Instance of her preferring her *Country* to her *Son* at all to be wondered at, since it was customary with the Women of *Sparta*, when their Sons were going to the Wars, to de-

liver them their Shield with these Words, ἢ τὰν ἢ ἐπὶ τὰς, *Either bring this back, or be brought upon it*; alluding to the Custom of the *Græcian* Soldiers, who usually brought off the Bodies of their Comrades who were slain upon their *Shields*; so that the Mothers Advice to their Sons, was *To lose their Lives, rather than their Shields and their Honour*. To shew they were in earnest when they gave this Advice, we are told, that a *Spartan* Lady, when she saw her Son flying from the Field of Battle without his Arms, slew him with her own Hand; and that this Action gave Occasion to the following Epigram :

Γυμνὸν ἴδεσα Λάκαινα παλίνθεοπον ἐκ πολέμου
 Παιδί τὸν ἐσ πάτραν ὡκὺν ἵέντα πόδα,
 Ἀντίν αἴξασα, δι' ἥπατος ἥλυσε λόγχην,
 "Αρρένα ρηξαμένη φεύγοντον ἐπὶ κλαμένω,
 "Αλλότερον Σπάρτας (ἄπεν) γένθε, ἐρρέ ποθ' ἄδαν.
 "Ἐρρέ, ἐπεὶ ἐψεύσω παλείδα καὶ γενέταν.

Which I shall translate for the Benefit of my *Fair Readers*.

*A Spartan Dame beheld her only Son,
Disarm'd and naked from the Battle run ;
Fir'd with the shameful Sight, she snatch'd a Dart,
And lodg'd the fatal Weapon in his Heart :
Lie there, degenerate Boy, aloud she cries,
Whose Flight thy Country and thy Birth belies.*

So much for the WOMEN. I will shew your Majesty in the next Place, since I find you have forgot it, that the very Boys in *Sparta*, valued their *Honour* and their *Reputation* much more than their *Lives*. *Lycurgus* allowed them to *steal*; he imagin'd that it quickened their *Wit*, and sharpened their *Invention*. If they brought off what they took without being discovered, they were applauded for their *Dexterity*; but if they were caught in the Fact, they were whipp'd without Mercy; not as a Punishment for their *intended Theft*, but for not *laying their Design better*. A Youth had one Day stolen a young Fox: He hid it under his Coat, and not being able to retire immediately without giving Suspicion, rather than suffer the Fox to be found upon him, he permitted the enraged Creature, to tear out

his Bowels with its Teeth and Claws, and fell dead upon the Place.

ANOTHER *Spartan* Youth was holding a Censer at a Sacrifice: A burning Coal happened to fall into his Sleeve: The Boy still held his Censer without flinching, and suffered his Arm to be scorched so long without once moving it, till the Scent of his burnt Flesh grew offensive to the Company.

PLUTARCH tells us, that he himself had seen several *Spartan* Boys scourged to Death before the Statue of * *Diana*, without ever uttering a Sigh, or a Groan.

* The Feast of *Diana*, upon which this Ceremony was used of *Whipping the Youths*, was from thence called *Διαμαζίσιος*, the Flagellation. This *Diana* was the *Diana Taurica*, whose Statue, *Orestes* and *Iphigenia* stole, and brought to *Lacedæmon*. While they were offering their first Sacrifices to this Deity, a Quarrel arose among the People; which ended in Blood. The *Spartans* hereupon consulted the Oracle, what was to be done to appease the Goddess? and received for Answer, *Let the Altar of the Goddess be sprinkled with Blood*. They therefore offered to her every Year, a Man chosen by Lot for that Service. *Lycurgus* abolished

I AM really ashamed, that I am obliged to put your Majesty in mind of all these Particulars, which you ought to know so much better

lished this cruel Custom; but out of Respect to the Oracle, ordered, that the Altar of *Diana* should be sprinkled with the Blood of some Youths, who were to be whipped round it. A Priestess presided at this Sacrifice, and held a small Statue of the Goddess in her Hands during the Ceremony. If those whose Business it was to whip the Children spared any of them, out of a Regard to their Beauty or their Birth, the Priestess pretended the Statue of *Diana* grew so heavy, that she was unable to support it. I confess, I could not have believed, that these Youths had been ever whipp'd to Death, if so good and great a Man as *Plutarch* (who was *Trajan's* Tutor, and Consul of *Rome*) had not reported the Fact, and declared, that he himself had been an Eye-witness of it. If this Ceremony was pushed to such an Excess, it was evidently contrary to the Design of *Lycurgus*. As to the *Spartan* Generosity and Patience, it is certain they were so remarkable, that they became a Proverb throughout all *Greece*; and *Plutarch's* Account is strengthen'd by what *Cicero* tells us in his *Tusculan Questions*; *Pueri Spartiate non ingemiscunt verberum dolore laniuti Adolescentium greges Lacedemone vidimus ipsi incredibili contentione certantes pugnis, calcibus, unguibus, morsu denique, ut examinarentur priusquam se victos faterentur.* Cic. From the *Spartans* incredible Passive Courage, in suffering all bodily Pains, *Horace*, in one of his Odes, gives the City of *Sparta* the Epithet of Patient: *Me nec tam patiens Lacedemon, &c.* And another Author, who introduces a Fellow, giving an Account of his having been beaten, makes him say with a good deal of Humour, *Tres plagas Spartana Nobilitate concoxi.*

better than my self: I shall, however, as I hinted before, charitably impute your Forgetfulness to your having taken a lusty Draught of the Waters of *Lethe*: Yet, what, in the Name of Wonder, could induce your Majesty to fall upon an *Englishman* in so barbarous a Way, only for saying that he loved his Country in a proper Manner? If your Majesty was Flesh and Blood, I should shrewdly suspect that you had a Design upon *Great Britain*; and that you began your Project, by trying to banter its Natives out of those Notions, which alone could make them fight for their Country, whenever your Majesty thought fit to invade it. And yet, Sir, let me tell you, that should the old *English Spirit* revive among us, and our present King appear at our Head, we might happen to serve you as *Antigonus* did in the Plains of * *Sellasia*.

IF

* The Battle of *Sellasia*, in which *Cleomenes* was overthrown by *Antigonus*, determined the Fate of the former. *Antigonus* entered the City of *Sparta* immediately after this Battle, but out of Respect to the Spartan *Virtue*, altered nothing in their Constitution, and treated the Inhabitants with the utmost *Humanity* and *Generosity*.

If your Majesty will but give your self the Trouble to look into our Histories, you will find how *Englishmen*, fired with the *Love of their Country*, behaved themselves at the Battles of *Agincourt* and *Cressy*. Some of our Countrymen are still living who fought at *Blenheim* and *Ramillies*; and how *Englishmen* have behaved even in this *Age*, your Majesty may learn from the following Lines.

*But see the haughty Household Troops advance !
The Dread of Europe, and the Pride of France.
The War's whole Art each private Soldier knows,
And with a Gen'ral's Love of Conquest glows ;
Proudly he marches on, and void of Fear,
Laughs at the shaking of the British Spear.
Vain Insolence ! with native Freedom brave,
The meanest Briton scorns the highest Slave ;
Contempt and Fury fire their Souls by Turns,
Each Nation's Glory in each Warrior burns ;
Each fights, as in his Arm th' important Day ;
And all the Fate of his great Monarch lay :*

A

*rosity. Cleomenes, whose Ambition occasioned the War,
was obliged to fly into Egypt, and never more saw
Greece.*

*A Thousand glorious Actions, that might claim
Triumphant Laurels, and immortal Fame,
Confus'd in Couds of glorious Actions lie,
And Troops of Heros undistinguis'd die.*

*O Dormer! how can I behold thy Fate,
And not the Wonders of thy Youth relate?
How can I see the Gay, the Brave, the Young,
Fall in the Cloud of War, and lie unsung;
In Joys of Conquest he resigns his Breath,
And fill'd with England's Glory, smiles in Death.*

This is part of a just Description of a Battle, fought but a few Years since, upon the Banks of the *Danube*, under the Conduct of an English General, who was as great a Master of the *Art of War*, and more constantly victorious than *Agesilaus* himself, the most renowned of all your Majesty's Royal Predecessors.

THE Lines I have quoted are from an English Patriot and Poet: Your Majesty cannot but observe, There is no less Spirit in them, than in the Verses of your own immortal General, The great * *Tyrtæus*; of which

* The Lacedæmonians being engaged in a bloody and unsuccessful War with the Messenians, sent to implore the

which your Father used often to say ; That *The bare Recital of them was sufficient to make any Man rush fearless into the Battle, and despise all Dangers :* I believe

the Assistance of the Oracle of *Apollo*. They were commanded, *To desire a General for their Army from the Athenians*. The *Athenians* sent them *Tyrtæus* the Poet. The *Spartans* were as unfortunate under the Command of this General as they had been before, and lost three Battles successively. They resolved in Despair to retire into *Sparta*, but *Tyrtæus* calling his Soldiers together, instead of speaking in Prose, like other Generals, made an Oration to them in Verse of his own Composing. His Oration began with a most lively Description of *True Valour*, and ended with a most pathetick Exhortation to them, either to *Conquer*, or *Die* in the Cause of their Country. The whole Army was so fired with the Poet's Composition, and had now so real a Contempt for Death, that they were only solicitous about being buried in a proper Manner; a Point in which the Ancients were extreamly superstitious. After every Man therefore had fixed a Ticket upon his Right-Arm, which declared his own Name, and the Name of his Family, they marched boldly against their Enemies with a settled Resolution, either to *conquer*, or to *fall* all together in the Field of Battle. The *Messeni-ans*, tho' they had Intelligence of the desperate Resolution the *Spartans* had taken, met them with great Bravery. The Fight was one of the most obstinate and bloody we have any Account of in History; but at last the *Spartan* Courage (which the Verses of their General seemed to have made something more than human) obtained the Victory. *Reges Lacedemoniorum ne contra fortanam pugnando, majora detrimenta civitati infligerent, reducere exercitum voluerunt; ni intervenisset Tyrtæus, qui composita carmina exercitui pro concione recitavit; in quibus hortamenta virtutis, damnorum solatia, belli consilia*

lieve I may add, that our Country-Man's Numbers are at least as harmonious as any your Majesty can shew me in the Odes of *Spendon, Alcman, or Terpander.**

conscripterat. Itaque tantum ardorem militibus injecit, ut non de salute, sed de sepulturâ, solliciti, tesseras, insculptis suis & patrum nominibus, dextro brachio deligarent; ut si omnes adversum prælium consumpfisset, & temporis spatio confusa corporum lineamenta essent, ex indicio titulorum tradi sepulturæ possent. Cum sic animatum reges exercitum viderent, curant rem hostibus nuntiari; Messeniis autem non timorem res, sed emulationem mutuam dedit. Itaque tantis animis concursum est, ut raro unquam cruentius prælium fuerit. Ad postremum tamen victoria Lacedæmoniorum fuit. Just. Tyrtæus is mentioned with the utmost Honour by a great many other Historians and Authors. Plato calls him, The most divine Poet, and speaks of him in the following Manner; Νόμων, ἡ περὶ νομοθεσίας. Ὡ Τυρταῖος, ποιητὰ θειότατε. δοκεῖ; γὰρ δὴ σοφὸς ἥμιν εἶναι, καὶ ἀγθὲς, διὰ οὗτος μὲν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ διαφέροντας, διαφερόντως ἔγκειωμίας.

Horace says of him,

*Tyrtæusque mares animos in Martia bella
Versibus exacuit. —*

* Three Lacedæmonian Poets. My Readers may observe here, that the *Spartans* had *Poets* among them; but then they took care to encourage none, but such as inspired People with generous Sentiments. A Poet coming to reside at *Lacedæmon*, who the *Spartans* were told had said something in one of his Pieces to this Effect, viz. That, *A Man had better take care of his Life, than lose it for the sake of his Country*, they immediately desired him to leave their City.

I COULD produce Instances which would convince your Majesty, that even in the Breasts of some of our *English* Ladies, the *Love of their Country* has been the reigning *Passion.*

THE *Widow* of that immortal *English* General last mentioned is still living: A few Years since her *Beauty* rendered her conspicuous. The Wife of your Friend * *Panteus*, was never Mistress of a *finer Air*, or a *nobler Presence*. Time has at last robbed her

* The Wife of *Panteus* (who first mounted the Walls of *Megalopolis*, and afterwards fled with *Cleomenes* into *Egypt*) is said to have been a Woman of exquisite Beauty, and a most noble Presence. Her Friends kept her for some Time by Force in *Sparta*; but at last she found Means to escape from them, and get to her Husband, with whom she chearfully endured all the *Hardships* and *Inconveniences*, they met with in a *Foreign Country*. When *Cratesiclea*, the Mother of *Cleomenes* went to her Execution, this Lady supported her Train, and exhorted her (tho' there was no Occasion for it) to die as became a *Spartan Princess*. After she had shrowded the Corps of her Mistress, she submitted to her own Fate; but we are told, that she first adjusted her self in so Modest and Decent a Manner, that the Executioner had no Occasion to meddle with her Body, or even to throw a Veil over it after she was dead.

her Eyes of part of their Lustre ; yet is she still gloriously distinguished among her Country-Women, and stands foremost in the Rank of Patriots. The most generous *Lacedæmonian* Dame never felt a more lively Grief when *Thebes* became the Mistress of *Greece*, than our *English* Heroine has been afflicted with, to see her Country no longer holding the *Ballance of Europe*, but insulted by those Nations, who sued for its Alliance in the Days of her illustrious Confort.

I know not indeed how it happens, but I am told, that she is not one of the most zealous Adorers of the *Hero* of your Majesty's Epistle.

You may possibly infer from some preceding Paragraphs, that *Great Britain* does not at present make the same Figure in *Europe* which she formerly did ; and, To confess the Truth, we have been treated of late after an odd sort of Manner, by a certain People called *Spaniards* : They have taken our Ships without any Ceremony, wherever they found them. They have besieged a Place, which they themselves had yielded to

us by a most solemn Treaty ; and which the World seemed then to think we had dearly purchased. They pretended to reckon with us, for having given a Check to their naval Power some Years since ; and People began to apprehend, that they had Thoughts of calling us to an Account, for having destroyed their *invincible Armada* in *Eighty eight*. We have, however, at last, reduced these haughty Gentlemen to make a Peace with us ; by which it is expressly agreed, that we shall have *full Satisfaction* for all the *Damages* we have sustained. Our *happy Merchants* have now nothing in the World to do, but to prove their Losses at *Madrid* before two or three *Spanish Commissioners*, and then to open their Hands and receive their Money : Some of them, indeed, have been so terribly provoked, and are Men of so much Spirit, that I have heard them declare, they had rather go to the *Spanish West-Indies*, and *pay themselves*. It is a little odd they should retain any Resentment against a Nation so ready to make them *full Amends* for all they have suffered, and who are at present become our most faithful *Friends*, and best-beloved *Allies* : But your Majesty knows

[E].

that

that *Lovers* will take the Liberty to speak; and Mens *Passions* will sometimes run away with their *Discretion*. If your Majesty should ask me, How we came to sit down so *long*, and so *patiently* under such intolerable Usage? I must beg Leave to be excused from giving my own private Opinion upon so *delicate* a Subject: Besides, your Majesty seems to be *intimately* acquainted, with a certain *great Man*, who, most People think, can give the best Account of it. I shall only venture to say, That the *Prince*, who is at present seated on the *British Throne*, has given the most undeniable Proofs of his own *personal Courage* and *Bravery*; and does not seem to be of an Humour, to see either himself insulted, or his Subjects robbed and murdered. I hope also, that my Countrymen in general have not lost that *Spirit*, which rendered them so formidable to their Enemies, but a few Years since. To convince your Majesty, that we have not been wholly *insensible* of the Usage we have received, I will shew you, with how *just* and *noble* an *Indignation*, and in what *strong* and *moving* Notes the *British Muses* made their Complaints, while they apprehended
their

their Country was losing all its former *Glory* and *Reputation*.

My first Quotation shall be from a Letter to the Lord *Cobham*, wrote by the late Mr. *Congreve*; in whose Person, the *Man of Sense*, and the *Man of Wit*, the *Gentleman* and the *Scholar*, were so happily mixed and blended, that each seemed to give a peculiar *Grace* and *Beauty* to the other; and all together formed a *Man*, who was an *Honour to his Country*, and the *Delight* of all who knew him.

*Say, Cobham, what amuses thy Retreat ?
Or Stratagems of War, or Schemes of State ?
Dost thou recal to Mind with Joy or Grief,
Great Marlbro's Actions ? That immortal Chief,
Whose slightest Trophy rais'd in each Campaign,
More than suffic'd to signalize a Reign ?
Does thy Remembrance rising warm thy Heart
With Glory past, where thou thy self hadst part ?
Or dost thou grieve indignant now to see
The fruitless End of all thy Victory ?
To see th' Audacious Foe so late subdu'd,
Dispute those Terms, for which so long they fu'd ?*

*As if Britannia now were sunk so low,
To beg that Peace she wanted to bestow ?
Be far that Guilt ! be never known that Shame !
That England shou'd retract her rightful Claim,
Or ceasing to be dreaded and ador'd,
Stain with her Pen the Lustre of her Sword.*

IF your Majesty sees any Thing in these Lines, that gives you a Curiosity to know their Author, you may enquire for him in the most beautiful Part of the Elysian Fields ; where, in all Probability you will find him in Company with *Orpheus*, *Homer*, *Linus*, and *Addison*. I shall only observe, that he composed these Verses but a little before his *Death*, and that they are the last he ever wrote. They are a Demonstration, That the *Love of his Country* was one of the last *Passions* that left his *Breast* ; and that he was much more concerned to see *England insulted* by her *neighbouring States*, than at the Prospect of his own *Dissolution*.

My next Quotation shall be from a Poem, which is very properly entitled *BRITANNIA*. The Gentleman who wrote this Poem is still living ;

living; and if his future Works have but the same *Spirit*, with those he has already published, he will doubtless be placed by Posterity in one of the first Ranks of our *English Poets*.

*As on the Sea-beat Shore Britannia sat,
Of her degen'rate Sons the faded Fame,
Deep in her anxious Heart, revolving sad;
Bare was her throbbing Bosom to the Gale,
That boarſe, and hollow, from the bleak Surge blew;
Loose flow'd her Treffes; rent her azure Robe.
Hung o'er the Deep from her Majestick Brow
She tore the Laurel, and ſhe tore the Bay;
Nor ceas'd the copious Grief to bathe her Cheek;
Nor ceas'd her Sobs to murmur to the Main.
Peace discontented nigh, departing, ſtretch'd
Her Dove-like Wings; and War, tho' greatly rous'd,
Yet mourn'd his fetter'd Hands. While thus the
Queen
Of Nations spoke; and what ſhe said the Muse
Recorded, faithful, in unbidden Verse.*

*See, unchastis'd, tb' insulting Spaniard dares
Infest the trading Flood. Full of vain War
Despise my Navies, and my Merchants ſeize;*

*As, trusting to false Peace, they fearless roam
The World of Waters wild, made, by the Toil,
And liberal Blood of glorious Ages, mine :
Nor bursts my sleeping Thunder on their Head.
Whence this unwonted Patience? this weak Doubt?
This tame Beseeching of Rejected Peace?
This meek Forbearance? this unactive Fear,
To generous Britons never known before?
And sail'd my Fleets for this, on Indian Tides
To float, unactive, with the veering Winds?
The Mockery of War! while hot Disease,
And Sloth distemper'd, swept off burning Crowds,
For Action ardent; and amid the Deep,
Inglorious, sunk them in a watry Grave.
There now they lie beneath the rowling Flood,
Far from their Friends, and Country unaveng'd;
And back the weeping Warship comes again,
Dispirited, and thin; her Sons ashame'd.
Thus idly to review their Native Shore
With not one Glory sparkling in their Eye,
One Triumph on their Tongue. A Passenger,
The violated Merchant comes along;
That far-sought Wealth, for which the noxious Gale
He drew, and sweat beneath Equator Suns,
By lawless Force detain'd; a Force that soon
Would melt away, and every Spoil resign,*

*Were once the British Lion heard to roar.
Whence is it that the proud Iberian thus,
In their own well-asserted Element,
Dares rouze to Wrath the Masters of the Main ?
Who told him, that the big incumbent War
Would not, ere this, have roll'd his trembling Ports
In smoaky Ruins ? and his guilty Stores,
Won by the Ravage of a butcher'd World,
Yet unaton'd sunk in the swallow'd Deep ?
Or led the glittering Prize into the Thames ?*

*And what, my thoughtless Sons, should fire you
more,
Than when your well-earn'd Empire of the Deep,
The least beginning Injury receives ?
What better Cause can call your Lightning forth ?
Your Thunder wake ? Your dearest Life demand ?
What better Cause, than when your Country sees
The fly Destruction at her Vitals aim'd ?
For, Oh ! it much imports you ; 'tis your All,
To keep your TRADE intire, intire the Force,
And Honour of your Fleets ; o'er that to watch,
Even with a Hand severe, and jealous Eye.
In Intercourse be gentle, generous, just,
By Wisdom polish'd, and of Manners fair ;
But on the Sea be terrible, untam'd,*

Unconquerable still : Let none escape,
Who shall but aim to touch your Glory there.
Is there the Man into the Lion's Den
Who dares intrude, to snatch his Young away ?
And is a Briton seiz'd ? and seiz'd beneath
The slumbering Terrors of a British Fleet ?
Then ardent rise ! Oh, great in Vengeance rise !
O'erturn the Proud ; teach Rapine to restore ;
And as you ride sublimely round the World,
Make every Vessel stoop, make every State
At once their Welfare, and their Duty know.

YOUR Majesty is not to wonder, that the Poet in the Lines last quoted, talks of the *Dominion of the Seas*, as properly belonging to the *British Nation*; and as an *Inheritance* left to us by the Valour of our Ancestors. When *Rawleigh* and *Blake* commanded our Fleets, the haughty *Spaniard* trembled at the Thunder of our Cannon, nor thought his Wealth sufficiently secured, even in the remotest Parts of his *Indies*. If we may believe an ancient Historian, either of the Heroes last mentioned was superior to your Majesty's Countryman, the famous *Lysander*. We are told, the *Spartan Admiral* owed his Reputation, rather to his
good

good Fortune, than to his *Conduct* and *Courage*. *Lysander Lacedæmonius magnam reliquit sui famam, magis felicitate quam Virtute partam.* Nep.

I HAVE endeavoured to shew from several Examples, ancient and modern, some of which I have taken out of your own Family, that my expressing some *Love for my Country*, was not so heinous a *Crime*, as to deserve that your Majesty, upon *this only Account*, should tell the World *I am a Desperado, prepared to execute the worst Mischief* (or in other Words the *greatest Villanies*) *I can be put upon.*

I PROCEED to your next Paragraph, which runs thus :

“ But Mr. BUDGELL having wonderfully
“ piqued himself upon this extraordinary
“ Poem, allow me room for only one Remark
“ on that fine Compliment paid in it to the King,
“ which he and his Friends seem to look upon
“ as the Flower of the Whole; and, he is
“ pleased to intimate, are Lines the greatest
“ Prince on Earth might approve, and ought

" to reward : Speaking of the Battle of Ou-
" denard, he says ;

" O Prince,

" There wast thou seen too prodigal of Life,
" And thy rash Valour, turn'd the doubtful Strife.

" Upon which I wou'd only humbly enquire,
" Whether, if what Mr. BUDGELL affirms
" be Fact, that Victory was not owing to a
" Vice : — The rest I leave to the ingenious
" Mr. BUDGELL to supply."

I COULD have wished your Majesty had condescended to have mentioned your *particular Reasons* for inferring that I do so wonderfully pique my self upon this extraordinary Poem. If I know any Thing at all of my self, I never yet piqu'd my self upon any Thing in Poetry ; or ever aimed at the Title of a Poet. I confess when I was very young, I did dabble a little in Poetry ; but I had not long amused my self in that pleasing Art, when I accidentally met with an Italian Proverb, which made so strong an Impression upon me, that I immediately burnt all the Verses I had wrote, and made a firm

firm Resolution never more to make *Poetry* my chief *Study*. The *Proverb* I have mentioned was to this Effect;

The Man who can't make Two Verses is a Blockhead, and he that makes Four is a Fool.

THE Meaning of this Saying I take to be this: That *Poetry* is the true and infallible Touchstone of human *Wit*; of which no Man must fancy he has an *extraordinary* Portion, if he does not find upon Tryal, that his *Genius* and *Invention* will make a tolerable Figure in *Poetry*: But at the same Time, no sensible prudent Man, would lay out all his Capacity upon an Art, which has something in it too apt to give the Mind a *Romantick Turn*, and a Way of thinking which is not adapted to the *common Occurrences* of Life; upon an Art, in which it is so very difficult to arrive at *Perfection*, and the chief Beauties of which are of so *delicate* and *fine* a Nature, that the Generality of Mankind can neither relish nor discern them.

WHATEVER your Majesty has been informed, I have hitherto troubled the World but with very few of my Verses. The first I ever printed were my *Epilogue to the Distress'd Mother*; which had such a Reception from the Indulgence of the Publick, as Nothing of the same kind ever met with before. I was, however, so far from abusing the *Good-nature* of the Town upon this Occasion, or listening to the Importunities of some Persons who profess'd themselves my Friends, that I resolv'd never more to write any Thing of that Nature. The unexpected Success I had met with, only served to make me double my Guards against a *Weakness* which I fancied my self naturally but too much inclined to. This little *Poem*, upon which your Majesty has thought proper to be so very *satirical*, is I believe the *last* I shall ever write, even tho' Providence should add more Years to my Life than I either expect or desire. I was prompted to do what I did by a particular *Occasion*, and some particular *Circumstances*; yet since the *Poem* is published, since it was intended to celebrate the *Virtues* and *Accomplishments* of one of
the

the *best* and *greatest* of Princes ; since I ventured to dedicate it to a *Queen*, who has an *Understanding* vastly superior to the Generality of her Sex, and is in particular allowed to be a good Judge of *polite Learning* ; I must confess, that upon all *these Accounts*, I should be sorry to think there were any gross *Absurdities* in the Poem it self ; and I shall therefore take the Liberty, fairly to examine the Strength of your Majesty's Reflections upon it.

I SHALL very frankly own, that (as your Majesty observes) my Friends, and I do think, that my Compliment to the *King of Great Britain* is the *best* Part of my Poem ; and that my Fancy was a little fir'd by the Dignity of the Subject I was then upon. You say, that I intimate those are Lines which the greatest Prince on Earth might *approve*, and ought to *reward* ; whereas, in fact, I say nothing more in my Letter to Mr. *Danvers*, but that he and other People seemed to think there were some Lines in the Poem, with which the greatest Prince upon Earth could not reasonably be *displeased*. As to the Article of *Reward*,

ward, I do not intimate I ever expected any; and I do assure your Majesty, that I never proposed to get one Farthing of *Money* by Writing this Poem, nor any other *Reward*, but a *gracious Smile*, either from my *King* or my *Queen*. I confess, I am of Opinion, that I need not have despaired of obtaining the *only Reward* I aimed at, if a great deal of *Cunning* and *Malice* had not been made use of to prevent my receiving it.

IT is certain, I have said in my Letter to the *Craftsman*, that I did not expect *such a Reward* for my Poem, as I was threatened with by *Name*, and in *Print*, by a *certain Querist*, a *Friend* of your Majesty's, who took so much Care to be as good as his Word in this Particular, that I should *now* do him the highest Injustice if I affirmed, *That he has broke every Promise he ever made me*. But 'tis more than Time to examine the Strength of your Criticism: Your Majesty is pleased to assert, that " Speaking of " the Battle of *Oudenard*, Mr. BUDGELL " says:

O Prince,

*There wast thou seen too prodigal of Life,
And thy rash Valour turn'd the doubtful Strife.*

I AM very sorry I am obliged to tell your Majesty, that Mr. BUDGELL does not say what your Majesty affirms he does; or in other Words, that your Majesty has asserted a most flagrant Falshood. You are pleased in the above Quotation, for *Reasons* best known to *yourself*, to bring Words together, which are twelve Lines *distant* from each other in the Poem, and then to strike out a Word of *mine*, and to substitute in the Place of it a Word of *your own*; *viz.* the Particle *and*, which, I must confess, where your Majesty has *stuck* it in, looks like as silly a Conjunction Copulative as ever I saw in my Life; so that in quoting but *two Lines*, you have endeavour'd to impose *two Falsehoods* upon your Readers: And I must own, that with a few of these your Majesty's *Emendations*, I am convinced my Poem would fully answer the Character you are pleased to give of it in your next Paragraph, and might very justly be called a STUPID PIECE.

To

To shew my Readers what Mr. *Budgell* really *does say* of the Battle of *Oudenard*, and in what manner the *Transition* is made to that *Battle*, from a Description of the *Horse-Races at New-Market*, I beg leave to transcribe the whole Passage: Which is the more necessary, because I am in hopes my doing this, will not only shew that I have justly charged your Majesty with making a disingenuous Quotation, but that it will also be a full Answer to a *Criticism* of Mr. *R. M's*, upon this my Description of the Battle of *Oudenard*.

From Granta * now, with the declining Day,
To those fam'd Plains † our Monarch bends his Way;
Where all his Strength the British Courser shews,
Ambitious of the Prize Great George bestows.
Lo! at the Barrier how the fiery Steed,
Champs on the Bit, impatient to be freed:
His quivering Ears express his strong Desire,
From his wide nostrils Clouds of Smoke expire;
With restless Feet he paws the trembling Plain,
And struggling, oft attempts to start in vain.

At

* Cambridge. † New-Market.

*At length, the Signal giv'n, in just Array,
 Through gazing Clouds the Rivals take their Way :
 At their full Stretch they urge the rapid Flight,
 And in a Moment quit the straining Sight ;
 So long, so smooth their Strokes, and yet so fleet,
 Scarce bends the tender Turf beneath their Feet.
 Almost they prove that the swift-footed Kind
 Sprung, as old Bards * have fabled, from the Wind.
 On this distinguisb'd Day, the noble Breed,
 Seem'd to exert a more than usual Speed ;
 As if by Instinct each contending Horse,
 Knew that BRITANNIA's King beheld the Course.*

*And yet, O Prince, with far superior Grace,
 Might the proud Species boast their gen'rous Race,
 Did they but know on Oudenarda's Plain,
 How greatly one illustrious Steed was slain ;
 Well pleas'd his Life in Battle to resign, [Thine.
 Pierc'd with the fatal Ball, which threaten'd
 On that important Day, well known to Fame,
 And made immortal by thy glorious Name ;*

[F]

When

* *Solinus, Columella, and Varro, affirm, that the Mares in Lusitania were impregnated by the Wind.*

*Ore omnes versæ in Zephyrum, stant rupibus altis,
 Exceptantque leves auræ : & sœpe sine ullis
 Conjugiis, vento gravidæ (mirabile dictu !)
 Saxa per & Scopulos & depressoas convallis
 Diffugiant.*

Ille

Virg.

*When, like a Tempest, in Europa's Right,
 Thy martial Genius urg'd Thee to the Fight.
 Where'er the Fury of the Battle rag'd,
 Where'er the thickest of her Foes engag'd,
 There wast Thou seen, too prodigal of Life,
 While thy rash Valour turn'd the doubtful Strife.
 The Gauls retreating, yet ashame'd to see,
 The Fortune of the Day o'er-rul'd by thee,
 By Thee alone, a single youthful Hand,
 Boil'd with fresh Rage ; and yet afraid to stand,
 Like the old Parthians fighting as they fled,
 Aim'd all the War at thy devoted Head.*

*Great Julius thus on Egypt's distant Coast,
 Surrounded by a whole embattled Host,
 Wag'd for a while a bloody desp'rare Fight,
 Yet he, inferior to thy daring Might,
 Declin'd at length the too-advent'rous Strife,
 When plunging in the Waves, he sav'd his Life.*

*Whilst thus in Showers, which darken all the Sky,
 The missive Deaths around thy Temples fly ;
 Close-fighting by thy Side, in Arms renown'd,
 The valiant * Luscky falls, and stains the Ground.*

There

* His present Majesty, who serv'd as a *Voluntier* at the Battle of Oudenard, charged Sword-in-hand at the Head of a Squadron of *Bulan's Dragoons*: His own Horse was shot under him, and Colonel *Luscky*, who commanded the Squadron, kill'd, as he was fighting bravely by him.

There hadst thou too resign'd thy sacred Breath,
Had not thy Horse receiv'd the Leaden Death;
Sinking beneath thy manly Limbs the Steed,
His Master safe, with Triumph seems to bleed;
Whilst thou relying, all the future Day,
On thine own Arm, thro' Squadrons mad'st thy Way;
(Thy Hand unumber'd with the useless Rein,)
And fought'st a private Soldier on the Plain.

My Readers I presume must have observed, from the foregoing Lines, that I have justly charged your Majesty with making a very disingenuous Quotation. I shall now lay before them the *Criticism* of Mr. R. M.

I HAVE already observ'd in my *Introduction*, that this Gentleman is an humble Imitator of your Majesty's *Beauties*; and that his whole Pamphlet, as well as your Majesty's Epistle, is wrote in the Dialect used by those *Ladies* who have the Inspection of the *British Fishery*: He has perhaps likewise learnt from your Majesty, that Nothing is more likely to cramp a rising Genius, than meanly to confine it within the Bounds of Truth. After having sufficiently maul'd poor Mr. *Danvers*, for daring to assert there

was any one Thing beautiful or masterly, either in my *Dedication to the Queen*, or any Part of my Poem, he falls upon that Part of it which I have quoted in the following Words.

“ But what Mr. Danvers was most of all
“ pleased with, was his incomparable Tran-
“ sition from New-Market to Oudenard. Let
“ us then accompany our Bard in this Flight ;
“ and when he terrifies us with this Battle,
“ what does he do? Why, like Mr. Bays,
“ nothing at all: I say it again, nothing at all;
“ for he only compliments a Horse. His
“ Majesty it seems, was prodigal of Life;
“ his Valour was rash, and all that: But,
“ Egad, the Horse was the Heroe of the
“ Poem.”

As to that Part of Mr. R. M's Criticism, which he has stolen from your Majesty, *viz.* That I say, my Sovereign the King of Great Britain was too prodigal of Life, and that his Valour was rash; I am in hopes, that what I shall say immediately to your Majesty, will at the same Time serve for an Answer to Mr. R. M. But as to the other Part

Part of his Criticism which is entirely his own, *viz.* That I have made an *Horse* the *Heroe* of my Poem; If he does not think the Lines I have quoted are a *full Answer* to it, I must intreat him to allow me to make that Use of his shewing me my *Faults*, that a wise Man ought to do, (*viz.*) Not to be guilty a *second Time* of an *Error* of the *same kind*. Mr. R. M. has fallen upon me so *unmercifully* for *complimenting a Horse*, that I dare take no farther Notice of what he says. I dare not give so *fair* an Handle to some future Critick, to censure me with a *like Severity*, for paying *too great a Compliment* to a *certain Animal*, which, though it very much *resembles*, yet is of an *inferior Species* to an *Horse*.

I ASK your Majesty's Pardon for making this short Excursion, that I might just take notice of Mr. R. M's *Criticism*; I shall now consider your Majesty's.

IN my Description of the Battle of *Oudenard*, where the King of *Great Britain* gave such undoubted Proofs of his *personal Courage*, I address my self to my Sovereign in the following Lines. [F 3] On

*On that important Day well known to Fame,
And made immortal by thy glorious Name;
When, like a Tempest, in Europa's Right,
Thy martial Genius urg'd Thee to the Fight;
Where'er the Fury of the Battle rag'd,
Where'er the thickest of her Foes engag'd,
There wast Thou seen, too prodigal of Life,
While thy rash Valour turn'd the doubtful Strife.*

These are the Lines as they stand in my Poem :

“Upon which (says your Majesty) I would
“only humbly enquire, Whether, if what
“Mr. BUDGELL affirms be fact, that Victory
“was not owing to a Vice. — The rest I
“leave to the ingenious Mr. BUDGELL to
“supply.” In Obedience to your Majesty’s
Commands I will therefore endeavour to sup-
ply the rest.

YOUR Majesty, it seems, is of Opinion, that
for an Hero to venture his Life in a Battle
more than in strict Prudence he ought to do,
or in other Words, to shew a *rash Valour*,
is a *Vice*: Your Majesty would from hence
infer,

infer, that My having said, The King of Great Britain was *prodigal of Life*, and that his *Valour* was *rash*, is charging that Prince with a *Vice*, and writing a *Satire* upon him, instead of a *Panegyrick*.

I HOPE I have stated your Majesty's Criticism in its full Strength. I must confess, that in this Dress it even looks a little *specious*: But let us examine the *Force* of it; first, by the *Rules* and greatest *Examples* in *Poetry*; and afterwards, by *Nature* it self, and *Matters of Fact*: Because I must own, that I think no *Thought* or *Expression*, either *proper* or *beautiful*, which is not founded upon *Truth* and *Nature*.

HOMER's very Definition of *Valour*, is, that *It is a divine Inspiration*; and that *some God gets Possession of the Man for the Time, and acts within him*. The same Poet declares in another Place, *That of all the Virtues, Fortitude, or Valour, was alone inspired with divine Salleys, and enthusiastick Transports*. Plutarch quotes this very Passage from Homer; and is so much pleased with it, that he declares immediately after-

wards, that *Homer* understood perfectly well the *Nature* and *Properties* of *Valour* or *personal Courage*. Agreeable to this Maxim of *Homer's*, we find the Heroes in all heroick Poems represented as rushing upon inevitable Death, and aiming at Things not only above their own Strength, but above the Power of any Mortal whatever: Notwithstanding this, they are so hurried on, and precipitated by that *Fervour of Spirits*, which seizes them in the *Heat* of a Battle, that some God is generally introduced, who, either by *Stratagem* or *Force*, is obliged to snatch them from that Death which would otherwise be the unavoidable Consequence of their *rash Valour*.

I COULD give a great Number of Instances of what I am saying out of *Homer*, *Lucan*, *Statius*, *Silius Italicus*, and *Tasso*; but because all these Poets, though they are certainly great Genius's, have been charged with some *heroick Rants*, I shall produce no Instance out of any of the Ancients, but *Virgil*, the most *correct Poet* that ever wrote, and who never suffer'd the *Heat of his Fancy* to get the better of his *Judgment*.

VIRGIL's Hero, *Æneas*, has been even ridiculed by Monsieur *St. Evremont*, and some other Criticks, for want of *Courage*, and for having too much *Prudence* and *Phlegm*; yet let us see how this very *Æneas* behaves, when his Enemies are in View, and his *Spirits* are heated in Battle.

THE first Time we have any Account of him in Arms, is upon that fatal Night when *Troy* was destroy'd: The *Greeks* had secured their Point, and the City was actually taken, while *Æneas* was yet asleep:

Tempus erat, quo prima quies mortalibus ægris
Incipit, & dono Divum gratissima serpit.
In somnis ecce ante oculos mœstissimus Hector
Visus adesse mihi, largosque effundere fletus:

'Twas in the Dead of Night, when Sleep repairs
Our Bodies worn with Toils, our Minds with Cares,
When Hector's Ghost before my Sight appears,
A bloody Shrowd he seem'd, and bath'd in Tears.*

HIS

* That I may give such of my Readers as do not understand *Latin*, some little *Notion* of what *Virgil* says, I have

HIS deceased Friend *Hector* appears to him in his Sleep, to rouse him up; but is far from advising him to make any *Resistance*; the Case was too desperate for that: On the contrary, *Hector* tells him that *Resistance* was in *vain*; and therefore expressly orders him to *fly*, as the *only Way now left to preserve himself*, and the *Reliques of Troy*.

Heu! fuge, nate dea, teque his (ait) eripe flammis.
 Hostis habet muros, ruit alto à culmine Troja:
 Sat Patriæ Priamoque datum: si Pergama dextrâ
 Defendi possent, etiam hâc defensa fuissent.
 Sacra, suosque tibi commendat Troja Penates:
 Hos cape fatorum comites: —————

O

have added *Dryden's Translation*, for want of a better: I must, however, in Justice to *Virgil*, let them know, that it is Mr. *Dryden*, and not *Virgil*, who says *Hector's Ghost seem'd to be a bloody Shroud*. My Readers who understand the Original, will observe several notorious *Faults* in the Translation of the four *Lines* I have quoted out of *Virgil*. Those who read nothing but this Translation, may well think, that *The real Ghost of Hector appear'd to Æneas while he lay awake*: But *Virgil* with a noble Simplicity makes *Æneas* say, *In my Sleep Hector seem'd to stand by me, extreamly dejected, and weeping; Not a Word of a Ghost, or a bloody Shroud.*

O Goddess-born ! escape, by timely Flight,
The Flames, and Horrors of this fatal Night.
The Foes already have possess'd the Wall,
Troy nods from high, and totters to her Fall.
Enough is paid to Priam's Royal Name,
More than enough to Duty and to Fame.
If by a mortal Hand my Father's Throne
Cou'd be defended, 'twas by mine alone :
Now Troy to thee commends her future State,
And gives her Gods Companions of thy Fate.

IN this Case, what does *Æneas* do ? He not only determines to *fight*, though he is told *All Resistance is to no Purpose*, but takes this Resolution in defiance of a Message sent him from the Gods by an Hero, who, when living, was both his *General* and his *Friend*. His *Courage* even gets the better of his *Piety*; though the latter upon other Occasions is made the most *shining* and *distinguished* Part of his *Character*. The Enterprize he undertakes is indeed a *mad* one, and fully justifies what he himself says of it in *cool Blood*.

*Arma amens capio, nec sat rationis in armis :
 Sed glomerare manum bello, & concurrere in arcem
 Cum sociis ardent animi: furor iraque mentem
 Præcipitant, pulchrumq; mori succurrit in Armis.*

*With Frenzy seiz'd, I run to meet th' Alarms,
 Resolv'd on Death, resolv'd to die in Arms.
 But first togather Friends, with them t'oppose,
 If Fortune favour'd, and repel the Foes,
 Spurr'd by my Courage, by my Country fir'd;
 With Sense of Honour, and Revenge inspir'd.**

His

* Dryden in the Translation of the four Lines I have quoted, by venturing to say more than Virgil says, has in some manner contradicted himself. He represents Æneas in his second Line as resolved on Death; Resolved to die in Arms; and yet in the two next Lines, he is resolved to get his Friends about him, and with their Assistance, not only to Oppose, but, if Fortune favoured, to Repel the Græcians; which looks pretty much like his Hoping for Victory. But it is Mr. Dryden that says all this: Virgil says nothing like it. Dryden's two last Lines, viz.

*Spurr'd by my Courage, by my Country fir'd;
 With sense of Honour, and Revenge inspir'd.*

Express well enough what Virgil means by his

*Furor Iraque mentem
 Præcipitant;*

I

His Speech to his Companions, is not the Oration of a Leader who even hopes for any Success.

————— Juvenes, fortissima frustra
Pectora, si vobis audentem extrema cupido est
Certa sequi : quæ sit rebus fortuna, videtis.
Excessere omnes adytis arisque relictis
Dii, quibus imperium hoc steterat : succurritis urbi
Incensæ : moriamur, & in media arma ruamus.

Brave Souls, said I, but brave, alas ! in vain :
Come, finish what our cruel Fates ordain,
You see the desp'rate State of our Affairs ;
And Heavens protecting Powers are deaf to Pray'rs.
The passive Gods, behold the Greeks defile
Their Temples, and abandon to the Spoil

Their

I am no Friend to *Literal Translations* : Yet I think a Translator ought to add nothing of his own, but what conduces either to *explain* or *strengthen* that Idea or *Impression* which the Author he translates is endeavouring to give his Readers. To do this, requires the utmost *Judgment*. Perhaps it is even necessary, that the Translator should have a Genius not much inferior to the Author he is translating.

*Their own Abodes : we, feeble Few, conspire
To save a sinking Town involv'd in Fire.
Then let us fall ; but fall amidst our Foes :*

A LITTLE after he describes his sallying out with his brave Countrymen (whom your Majesty may possibly call *Desperadoes*) in these Words ;

————— Per tela, per hostes,
Vadimus haud dubiam in mortem. —

*So rush'd we forth at once, resolv'd to die,
Resolv'd in Death the last Extreams to try.*

When at the Head of a few gallant Men, he had flung himself into the Midst of his victorious Enemies, and made a prodigious Slaughter of the *Græcians*, he might very justly make the following Exclamation :

Iliaci cineres ! & flamma extrema meorum,
Tector, in occasu vestro, nec tela, nec ulla
Vitavisce vices Danaūm ; &, si fata fuissent
Ut caderem, meruisse manu. —

*Ye Trojan Flames ! your Testimony bear,
What I perform'd, and what I suffer'd there :
No Sword avoiding in the fatal Strife,
Expos'd to Death, and prodigal of Life.*

HERE is the *very Expression* I have made
made use of, and which your Majesty, and
Mr. R. M. are so much offended at. —
Prodigal of Life : — I borrowed it from
Dryden; and since 'tis not originally my
own, I shall make no Scruple to affirm, that
'tis a *just*, a *beautiful*, and a *poetical Expression*. It represents in an *elegant* and a
true Manner the Behaviour of *Æneas* in this
Place.

I HUMBLY trust my whole Life has shewn,
that I have a profound and sincere Respect
for my legal Sovereign, and his illustrious
Family : I hope I have a just Sense of his
many *great* and *royal Virtues* : Notwithstanding
all which, I cannot possibly be of Opin-
ion, that it is any manner of *Disgrace* to
him, to have his *Behaviour in Battle* repre-
sented to be like that of *Virgil's Hero*, the
Founder of the Roman Empire, and the
Prince

Prince whom Augustus Cæsar was infinitely pleased to be told he resembled.

ÆNEAS at last sees the Palace of Priam taken, and the King himself killed, while all his own Companions were either slain, or had left him.

Respicio, & quæ sit me circum copia, Iustro.
Deseruere omnes defessi, & corpora saltu
Ad terram misere, aut ignibus ægra dedere.

*I look'd about, but found my self alone :
Deserted at my Need, my Friends were gone ;
Some spent with Toil, some with Despair oppress'd,
Leap'd headlong from the Heights ; the Flames
consum'd the rest.*

NOTWITHSTANDING all this, he still pursues his *desperate Enterprize*, and is deaf to every Thing but *Fury* and *Resentment*. His Mother her self is at last obliged to descend from Heaven, to lay her absolute *Commands* upon him to desist, and to endeavour to preserve his *Father*, his *Wife*, and his *only Son*; who she assures him are in the *utmost Danger*.

ONE would imagine This should be enough to cool the *rash Valour* of *Æneas*, and make a *single Man* no longer think of opposing himself against so many *Thousands* of his Enemies; and yet *Venus* is plainly apprehensive, that all her *Arguments*, back'd with her *maternal Authority*, would not be sufficient to make an *Hero forbear* attacking his Enemies, when he was once *heated* in Battle, and fighting to *revenge*, though not to save his *Country*. She therefore thinks her self obliged to let him *see* with his *own Eyes*, that he is not only contending with *Men*, but against *Fate*, and the *Gods*. *This*, and only *this*, in *Virgil's Opinion*, was sufficient to make his *Hero quit the Field*.

Talia jactabam, & furiatâ mente ferebar :
 Cum mihi se, non ante oculis tam clara, videndam
 Obtulit, & purâ per noctem in luce refulsit
 Alma parens, confessâ Deam ; qualisque videri
 Cœlicolis & quanta solet ; dextrâque prehensum
 Continuit, roscoque hæc insuper addidit ore :
 Nata, quis indomitas tantus dolor excitat iras ?
 Quid furis ? aut quonam nostri tibi cura recessit ?

Non prius aspicies, ubi fessum ætate parentem
 Liqueris Anchisen? superet conjuxne Creusa,
 Ascaniusque puer? quos omnes undique Graæ
 Circum errant acies: & ni mea cura restitat,
 Jam flammæ tulerint, inimicus & hauserit ensis.
 Non tibi Tyndaridis facies invisa Lacænæ,
 Culpatusve Paris; verum inclemensia Divum
 Has evertit opes, sternitque à culmine Trojam.
 Aspice: namque omnem, quæ nunc obducta tuenti
 Mortales hebetat visus tibi, & humida circum
 Caligat, nubem eripiam: tu ne qua parentis
 Jussa time, neu præceptis parere recusa.
 Hic ubi disjectas moles, avulsaque saxis
 Saxa vides, mixtoque undantem pulv're fumum;
 Neptunus muros, magnoque emota tridenti
 Fundamenta quatit, totamque à sedibus urbem
 Eruit. Hic Juno Scæas sævissima portas
 Prima tenet, sociumque furens à navibus agmen
 Ferro accincta vocat. —————

Jam summas arces Tritonia, respice, Pallas
 Insedit, nimbo effulgens & Gorgone sæva.
 Ipse Pater Danais animos viresque secundas
 Sufficit: ipse Deos in Dardana suscitat arma.
Eripe, nate, fugam, finemque impone labori.
 Nusquam abero, & tutum patrio te limine sistam.
 Dixerat, & spissis noctis se condidit umbris.

Apparent

Apparent diræ facies, inimicaque Trojæ
Numina magna Deum. —————

Thus while I rave, a Gleam of pleasing Light
Spread o'er the Place, and shining heav'nly bright,
My Mother stood reveal'd before my Sight.

Never so radiant did her Eyes appear ;
Not her own Star confess'd a Light so clear.

Great in her Charms, as when on Gods above
She looks, and breathes her self into their Love.
She held my Hand, the destin'd Blow to break :
Then from her rosy Lips began to speak.

My Son, from whence this Madness, this Neglect
Of my Commands, and those whom I protect ?

Why this unmanly Rage ? Recal to mind
Whom you forsake, what Pledges leave behind.
Look if your helpless Father yet survive ;
Or if Ascanius, or Creusa live.

Around your House the greedy Græcians err ;

And these had perish'd in the nightly War,
But for my Presence, and protecting Care.

Not Helen's Face, nor Paris was in Fault ;
But by the Gods, was this Destruction brought.
Now cast your Eyes around, while I dissolve
The Mist and Films that mortal Eysc involve :

Purge from your Sight the Dross, and make you see
The Shape of each avenging Deity.

Enlighten'd thus, my just Commands fulfil;
Nor fear Obedience to your Mother's Will.

Where yon disorder'd heap of Ruin lies,
Stones rent from Stones, where Clouds of Dust arise,
Amid that Smother Neptune holds his Place:

Below the Wall's Foundation drives his Mace,
And heaves the Buildings from the solid Base.

Look where in Arms, imperial Juno stands,
Full in the Scæan Gate, with loud Commands;
Urging on Shore the tardy Græcian Bands.

See Pallas, of her snaky Buckler proud,
Bestrides the Tow'r resplendent through the Cloud.

See Jove new Courage to the Foe supplies,
And Arms against the Town the partial Deities.
Haste hence, my Son; this fruitless Labour end:
Haste where your trembling Spouse, and Sire
attend:

Haste; and a Mother's Care your Passage shall
befriend.

She said: And swiftly vanish'd from my Sight,
Obscure in Clouds and gloomy Shades of Night.

*I look'd, I listen'd; dreadful Sounds I hear;
And the dire Forms of hostile Gods appear. **

* I shall take no Notice of the many mean Expressions in Mr. Dryden's Translation of this Passage; but it is impossible to read the two last Lines I have quoted from him, without remembering what our Countryman the incomparable Hudibras says of Verses.

*And one for Sense, and one for Rhyme;
I think's sufficient at a Time.*

Virgil, with a noble Majesty, and in the Present Tense, shews the Effect of what the Deity had said, the very Moment she disappears: He suffers no trifling Circumstances to intervene and strike his Readers.

*Dixerat, & spissis noctis se condidit umbris.
Apparent diræ facies, inimicaque Trojæ
Numina magna Deum.*

She spoke, and vanished: The dreadful Scene opens; The Deities, Enemies to Troy, become visible.

There is something in these Verses of *Virgil's*, which a little resembles that Passage in *Moses*, justly admired by *Longinus* and others. *And God said, Let there be Light, and there was Light:* They likewise pretty well answer that Part of *Cæsar Vanini's* celebrated Definition of the Deity, where *Vanini* says, *His WILL is his POWER, and the exerting his POWER, doth not differ from his WILL.* After this Observation, how excessively Mean and Chilidish does the following Verse appear, with which Mr. Dryden has embellish'd his Translation, but of which there is not one Word to be found in *Virgil*.

I look'd, I listen'd, dreadful Sounds I hear;

I have

[G 3]

ÆNEAS

ÆNEAS thought fit to yield to the Gods; yet even this is more than Diomedes does in Homer. That Hero, in the Heat of an Engagement, actually wounds two Deities, one of whom was Mars himself, the very God of War. I am sensible, that in quoting
Homer

I have often thought, that the World has been a great deal too kind to most of our Translators. The Ground they work upon is indeed most commonly so very rich, that 'tis impossible they should entirely deface the Beauty of it; but if some Translations, to which the Publick has been extreamly indulgent, were but brought near, and compared with their Originals, People would be amazed to see how many real Beauties the Translator has dropped, and what Stuff of his own he has substituted in their Place. Even those unhappy Readers, who do not understand the Originals, might soon be convinced how very faint a Notion has been given them from Translations, of the Stile and Excellencies of ancient Writers. But though my Indignation is a little raised, to see the Prince of Poets so shamefully murdered, I wou'd not be thought to condemn Mr. Dryden, and his Works in general: Some of his Compositions are an Honour to our Language, and our Country. In his *Ode upon St. Cecilia's Day*, there is perhaps as much of the true Spirit of Poetry, and the Numbers are as artfully varied, as in any Piece that can be produced in any Language. Virgil was the most improper Author of all the ancient Poets that Mr. Dryden could have undertaken to translate. Virgil throughout the whole *Æneis* has great Majesty in his Expression; a wonderful Strength, Decency, and Correctness in his manner of Thinking, and is extreamly frugal of his Words; but Mr. Dryden's Excellency does not lye in any of these Particulars.

Homer, I should break the Promise I lately made, if *Virgil* had not thought even this Action, so far from being improbable in an Hero, heated in Battle, that he has made *Diomedes* himself mention it in the Eleventh *Aeneid*.

Nunc etiam horribili visu portenta sequuntur,
 Et socii amissi petierunt æthera pennis,
 Fluminibusque vagantur aves (heu dira meorum
 Supplicia !) & scopulos lacrymosis vocibus im-
 plent :

Hæc adeo ex illo mihi jam speranda fuerunt
 Tempore ; cum ferro cœlestia corpora demens
 Appetii, & Veneris violavi vulnere dextram.

In the Sky

*Transform'd to Birds, my lost Companions fly ;
 Hov'ring about the Coasts they make their Moan,
 And cuff the Cliffs, * with Pinions not their own.*

[G 4]

What

* *And cuff the Cliffs, with Pinions not their own.*

I shall but just hint at the mean Expression of cuffing the Cliffs ; though a little Critick would perhaps introduce a boxing Match between a *Cliff* and a *More-Hen*, and be strangely witty upon this Occasion. The Expression,
Pinions

*What squalid Spectres, in the dead of Night,
Break my short Sleep, and skim before my Sight!
I might have promis'd to my self those Harms,
Mad as I was, when I with mortal Arms,
Presum'd against immortal Pow'rs to move;
And violate with Wounds the Queen of Love.*

IN the Tenth *Aeneid*, we find *Lausus* a
meer Youth engaging with *Aeneas*; who,
though an Enemy, could not forbear crying
out to him, not to attempt what was above
his Strength.

Sic

Pinions not their own, in the latter Part of this Verse,
may be justified from several Instances out of the Clas-
sicks; and is easily understood at first Sight, by those
who are conversant in them: But I cannot omit this
Occasion of saying, That I take *Perspicuity* to be one of
the greatest Beauties in Writing. *Perspicuity* upon all
delicate Subjects, is the surest Sign of a strong Judg-
ment, and a clear Head. The chief End of Transla-
tions ought to be to let those Persons into the Meaning,
Spirit, and Way of Thinking of the *Ancients*, who are
not able to read them in the Languages they wrote.
Dryden, though he took a boundless Liberty in Transla-
ting *Virgil*, yet in numberless Instances, has left the
Meaning of that great Poet ten Times more obscured,
than it is in the Original: But I have done with the un-
grateful Business of finding Faults. I had much rather
commend than censure; more especially the Writings of a
Gentleman, who, as I have already observed, had a large
Portion of the Spirit of Poetry, and has given undenia-
ble Proofs, in several of his Plays and Poems, that he
had a fine, and an happy Genius.

Sic obrutus undique telis
 Æneas, nubem belli, dum detonet, omnem
 Sustinet : & Lausum increpitat, Lausoque mi-
 natur :
 Quo, moriture, ruis? majoraque viribus audes?

*Æneas thus o'erwhelm'd on every Side,
 The Storm of Darts, undaunted did abide ;
 And thus to Lausus loud with friendly Threat-*

ning cry'd.

*Why wilt thou rush to Certain Death, and rage
 In rash Attempts beyond thy tender Age?*

His Success is answerable to the *Rashness* of his Undertaking: *Lausus* is slain by *Æneas*; yet *Virgil* instead of blaming the young Hero for his *rash Attempt*, cannot forbear crying out, before he enters upon the Description of it,

Hic mortis duræ casum, tuaque optima facta,
 Si qua fidem tanto est operi latura vetustas,
 Non equidem, nec te, juvenis memorande, silebo.

*And here, Heroick Youth, 'tis here I must
 To thy immortal Memory be just;*

And

*And sing an Act so Noble, and so new,
Posterity will scarce believe 'tis true.*

This Exclamation of the Poet's is by much the more *remarkable*, as we find him bestowing his Encomiums, and speaking in his own Person but very rarely throughout the whole *Æneis*. There is but one other Place where he speaks in this Manner, which at present occurs to my Memory; and even there too he celebrates an Action which was *rash* with a Witness. It is where *Nisus*, *single* and *alone*, flings himself into the Midst of a whole *Troop* of *Rutilians*, to revenge the Death of his Friend *Euryalus*. The Event is answerable to the *Rashness* of the Attempt. It is true that *Nisus* had the Satisfaction to kill the Man by whom his Friend was murder'd; but then he is immediately afterwards slain himself.

At Nisus ruit in medios, solumque per omnes
Volscentem petit, in solo Volscente moratur:
Quem circum glomerati hostes hinc cominus at-
que hinc
Proturbant: instat non segnius, ac rotat ensem

Fulmi-

Fulmineum : donec Rutuli clamantis in ore
Condidit adverso, & moriens animam abstulit
hosti.

Tum super exanimem sese projecit amicum
Confossum, placidâque ibi demum morte quievit.
Fortunati ambo! si quid mea carmina possunt,
Nulla dies unquam memori vos eximet ævo :
Dum domus Æneæ Capitolî immobile saxum
Accolet, imperiumque pater Romanus habebit.

Despair, and Rage, and Vengeance justly vow'd,
Drove Nisus headlong on the hostile Crowd :
Volscens he seeks ; on him alone he bends ;
Born back, and bor'd, by his surrounding Friends,
Onward he press'd : And kept him still in Sight,
Then whirl'd aloft his Sword, with all his Might.
Th'unerring Steel descended while he spoke ;
Pierc'd his wide Mouth, and thro' his Weaz'en
broke :

Dying he slew ; and stagg'ring on the Plain,
With swimming Eyes he sought his Lover slain :
Then quiet on his bleeding Bosom fell ;
Content in Death, to be reveng'd so well.
O happy Friends ! for if my Verse can give
Immortal Life, your Fame shall ever live :

Fix'd

*Fix'd as the Capitol's Foundation lies ;
And spread where'er the Roman Eagle flies !*

I shall produce one more Instance from the most *correct* of Poets, to justify what I have wrote.

WHILE *Æneas* was absent from his Army, and endeavouring to procure Assistance from *Evander*, *Turnus*, instigated by *Juno*, attacks the *Trojan* Camp. On this Occasion, *Ascanius*, though but a *Boy*, rushes into the Battle, and kills *Numanus*, one of the most forward and daring of all the *Rutilians*.

Tum primum bello celerem intendisse sagittam
Dicitur, ante feras solitus terrere fugaces,
Ascanius: fortisque manu fudisse *Numanum*,
Cui Remulo cognomen erat; Turnique minorem
Germanam nuper thalamo sociatus habebat.

*Then young Ascanius, who before this Day
Was wont in Woods to shoot the savage Prey,
First bent in Martial Strife the twanging Bow,
And exercis'd against a human Foe.
With this bereft Numanus of his Life,
Who Turnus' younger Sister took to Wife.*

Apollo

Apollo observing the *Rashness* of the *Boy*,
and the eminent *Dangers* to which he exposed
himself, immediately descends from *Heaven*, and lays his absolute *Commands* upon
him to retire out of the *Battle*.

— — — — Forma tum vertitur oris
 Antiquum in Buten. Hic Dardanio Anchisæ
 Armiger antè fuit, fidusque ad limina Custos :
 Tum Comitem Ascanio pater addidit. Ibat
 Apollo
 Omnia longævo similis, vocemque, coloremque ;
 Et crines albos, & sœva sonoribus arma :
 Atque his ardente dictis affatur Iülum :
 Sit satis, Æncide, telis impune Numanum
 Oppetiisse tuis : primam hanc tibi magnus Apollo
 Concedit laudem, & paribus non invidet armis.
 Cætera parce, puer, bello. Sic orsus Apollo,
 Mortales medio aspectus sermone reliquit,
 Et procul in tenuem ex oculis evanuit auram.
 Agnovere Deum proceres divinaque tæla
 Dardanidæ, pharetramque fugâ sensere sonantem
 Ergo avidum pugnæ, dictis ac numine Phœbi,
 Ascanium prohibent. — — — —

*Old Butes' Form he took, Anchises' Squire,
Now left to rule Ascanius, by his Sire :
His wrinkled Visage, and his hoary Hairs,
His Mein, his Habit, and his Arms he wears ; }
And thus salutes the Boy, too forward for his }
Years :*

*Suffice it thee, thy Father's Worthy Son,
The warlike Prize thou hast already won :
The God of Archers gives thy Youth a Part
Of his own Praise ; nor envies equal Art.
Now tempt the War no more. He said, and flew
Obscure in Air, and vanish'd from their View.
The Trojans, by his Arms, their Patron know ;
And hear the Twanging of his Heav'nly Bow.
Then duteous Force they use ; and Phœbus' Name
To keep from Fights, the Youth too fond of Fame.*

It is evident from this Passage, that *Virgil* imagined he could no Way so well shew that *Ascanius* was a *Son worthy* of his great *Father*, as by ascribing to him that *Rashness* which seems to be the very *Characteristick* of an *Hero*. We see that even the *Commands* of *Apollo* were not sufficient to make him re-

tire, but that the *Trojan* Generals were obliged to force him out of the Field.

My last Instance shall be from a *Modern Writer* (*viz.*) from the late Mr. *Addison*, all of whose Compositions, after he returned from his Travels, and was past thirty, are, perhaps, as *correct* and *judicious* as any Author's, except *Virgil's*.

Mr. ADDISON, in his Description of the Battle of *Schellenberg*, and in the Height of that Action, addresses himself to the *Hero* of his Poem, the late Duke of *Marlborough*, and nobly upbraids him with being too *rash*, and not taking a *sufficient Care* of that *Life* on which so much depended.

*Forbear, great Man, renown'd in Arms, forbear
To brave the thickest Terrors of the War,
Nor hazard thus, confus'd in Clouds of Foes,
Britannia's Safety, and the World's Repose;
Let Nations, anxious for thy Life, abate
This Scorn of Danger, and Contempt of Fate.
Thou liv'st not for thy self.*

ADDISON's Campaign.

'Tis

'Tis probable, that Mr. *Addison*, when he wrote these Lines, had *Lucan* in his Eye; who in his Description of the Battle of *Pharsalia*, calls out to *Brutus*, *not to rush upon the Swords of his Enemies; but to preserve his Life for the good of his Country.*

I COULD easily shew the *poetical Beauties* in the several Passages which I have quoted. I shall rather chuse to shew, that they have their Foundation in *Nature*, and are really agreeable to what has been the Behaviour of the greatest Heroes, and greatest Generals in a *Day of Battle*.

ALEXANDER's passing the *Granicus*, contrary to the Advice of *Parmenio*, with but thirteen Troops of Horse, while the Enemies were Masters of the other side of the River, and shower'd down an infinite Number of Darts upon him; is represented by some Authors, not only as a piece of *Rashness*, but even *Madness*: What made it the more *Rash* was, his being distinguished by his Buckler, and a large Plume of white Feathers on his Helmet. He was accordingly no sooner got

J over,

over, than he was attacked on all Sides ; and *Rhesaces* and *Spithridates*, two resolute Men, falling upon him at once, he had certainly been killed by the latter, if that gallant Commander had not been slain himself by the great *Clitus*, who ran him through the Body with his Spear, as he was aiming a Blow that must have been fatal to *Alexander*.

THE same Hero's encountering and killing a monstrous Lion one Day before a *Spartan* Ambassador, was an Action of the same kind : When the Combat was ended, the Ambassador could not help telling him, *Dominion, Sir, has been the Prize ; and you have bravely disputed it with a Lion* ; intimating, that as the Lion is the *King* of Beasts, there had been a sort of Contention between *two Monarchs* which should be the *Master*.

WHAT he did in *India*, at the Siege of a City of the *Mallians*, was still more extraordinary. *Alexander*, at the Assault of this City, was the very first Man that mounted the Walls, and the Scaling-Ladder breaking under him, left him exposed with only two

of his Guards, to all the Darts and Fury of the *Barbarians*. In this Distress, instead of avoiding his Enemies, he leap'd down among them. The Brightness and Clattering of his Armour, added to his *Activity* and *Valour*, made them at first imagine him a Deity; but as soon as they discovered him to be a *Man*, the whole Garrison fell upon him: An Arrow piercing his Curiafs stuck in his Ribs, and the Stroke was so violent, that it made him fall on one Knee to the Ground. The *Barbarian* who had wounded him now drew his Scimiter to dispatch him, but was killed as soon as he came within the Reach of *Alexander's* Sword; who after this received so many other Wounds, that he was obliged to support his Body against the Wall. He still looked undauntedly upon his Enemies; but was now reduced to the last Extremity, when the *Macedonians* breaking into the City, took him up very opportunely, just as he was fainting away, and not sensible what they did with him. This prodigious Courage of *Alexander's*, infused such a Spirit into his whole Army, as made them patiently endure the most toilsome Marches: They declared, that *They look'd*

upon

upon themselves not only as invincible, but to be little less than immortal, while they followed such a Leader.

It would be too tedious to enumerate all the Actions of *Alexander* of this Nature; upon one of which a *French* Author makes this fine Observation: *I am sensible* (says he) *that this Action of Alexander's will be called rash and imprudent; but Heroism will discover such Marks in it, as will force her to claim and acknowledge it for her own.*

PYRRHUS, (who in the Opinion of *Hannibal*, no ill Judge, was the greatest General the World had ever seen, next to *Alexander*,) as soon as the Battle was begun, usually rushed in among his Enemies, regardless of his own Safety. He acted thus when he engaged the *Romans* at the River *Siris*, and though the Richness of his Armour made him easily known: Nor could all the Dangers he so narrowly escaped, or the Perswasions of his Friends, make him alter his Conduct in any other Particular, than to lay aside that Armour which had made him so remarkable.

IN the Battle with the *Mamertines*, when a Wound had obliged him to retire, he no sooner heard that one of the *Barbarians*, of an uncommon Size, advanced before the Ranks, and called to him to appear if he was alive, than he returned to the Battle all over besmear'd with Blood, and, rushing upon the bold *Mamertine*, ended the Combat with a single Blow.

EVERY Body knows that *Cæsar* owed his Victory at *Munda* to his own personal Courage and Example. What he did at *Pharos* in *Egypt*, when his Troops were all embarked, and himself surrounded by his Enemies, would scarce be credited, if several Historians had not assured us of the Fact; and your Majesty may please to observe, that I refer to this Action of *Cæsar's* in my Poem.

SINCE I find your Majesty has lost your Memory, I will give you a very remarkable Instance of the *rash*, but *heroick Valour* of one of your own Countrymen, and of the *strict Justice* of your *Ephori*. When
the

the great *Epaminondas* assaulted your City of *Sparta*, and had like to have taken it, *Isadas*, a most comely and well-grown Youth, had been just anointing himself: Upon the Alarm, without staying to put on his Cloaths, he snatched up a Spear in one Hand, and a Sword in the other, and breaking into the thickest Ranks of his Enemies, bore down all before him. What was very extraordinary is, that he received no Wound; which was attributed either to his being protected by some Deity, or to his Enemies believing him, from his uncommon Appearance, to have been something more than *Man*. The Gallantry of this Action was thought so great, that the *Ephori* decreed a *Garland* to *Isadas*; but as soon as they had passed this Decree, they set a Fine upon him of a Thousand Drachmas * for his *Presumption* and *Rashness*, in going unarmed into the Battle. I hope I need not tell your Majesty, that there was not a young Fellow in *Sparta*, who would not gladly have paid *double* the Fine, to have had the *Credit* of the Action.

* About Thirty Pounds *English* Money.

LET us come a little nearer Home, and to our own Times.

EDWARD the third, King of *England*, when the Governor of *Calais* had sold that Place to the *French* (and was going to have delivered it up by Night to the Lord *Charny*) fought under the Walls of the Town in a *private Soldier's Coat*, and in Sir *Walter Manning's* Regiment. In this Disguise he engaged with the valiant Lord *Eustace of Rylemont*, who beat him down twice upon his Knees. The King, however at last got the better of his Antagonist, and took him Prisoner. His Troops were also victorious. *Edward* soon shewed that his *Generosity* was equal to his *Courage*, and how much he esteemed a brave Enemy : He ordered a splendid Entertainment to be provided for his Prisoners ; and coming in amongst them very unexpectedly and to their great Surprise, told the Lord *Charny*, *That he was not much obliged to him for endeavouring to steal a Town from him by Night, which he had fairly won by Day.* He then addressed himself to the Lord *Eustace*, and, after

after having said a great many obliging Things to him, took a Chaplet of Pearls of great Value from his own Head, and placing it upon his Prisoner's, generously dismissed him without a Ransom.

HENRY the Fifth, another *English* King, (who your Majesty must know conquer'd *France*, and had his *Title* to that Kingdom solemnly acknowledged by the *Parliament of Paris*,) is said, in History, to have fought like a *private Soldier*, through an *Excess of Courage*, at the Battle of *Agincourt*, in which he killed several of the *French* with his own Hand, and was more than once in the utmost Danger of being slain himself.

CHARLES the Seventh, who reigned in France, (having recovered that Kingdom after our Henry's Death) was the first Man who entered the Breach, when the Town of Pontboise was taken by Storm, *Chusing* much rather (as the French Historians observe) to be thought RASH than TIMEROUS.

RICHARD the Third, when at the Battle of *Bosworth*, instead of flying, as he might have done, he rushed into the Midst of his

victorious Enemies, is said, *To have gained more Honour in one Hour before his Death, than he had done in all his Life, till that Time.*

THE late King of *Sweden*, in our Days, was the first Man who entered the *Muscovite Trenches* at the Battle of *Narva*, and behaved in such a Manner on several other Occasions, that not only his own Men, but even his Enemies were for some Time firmly persuaded that he was *invulnerable*.

LASTLY, I am surpriz'd to hear your Majesty, of all the Heroes that ever breathed, so very severe upon *rash Valour*: If ever Man acted *rashly*, and even rivaled the *Heroes* in *Romance*, your Majesty most certainly did so in that Exploit at *Alexandria*,* which cost you

* *Cleomenes*, after he was defeated by *Antigonus*, fled into *Egypt*, where he was kindly received by *Ptolemy*, who promised to assist him with Men and Money, that he might recover his Kingdom: But *Ptolemy* dying soon after, was succeeded by his Son, a weak effeminate Prince, who minded nothing but his Women and Pleasures, and was entirely governed by a worthless Fellow, one *Cinanthes*. *Cleomenes* saw that he could now expect no Good from the *Egyptian Court*; and fancying that he might

you your Life: For a Man to imagine, that at the Head of only twelve of his Friends, in a strange Country, he could rouze up a People in the Cause of *Liberty*, who had long been *Slaves*, and master the capital City of *Egypt*,

might make some Advantage of the Confusions in which *Greece* was then involved, desired Leave to go thither with his own Friends. *Ptolemy* was so far from granting his Request, that by the Advice of his worthless Minister, he put him under a sort of Confinement. *Cleomenes* so highly resented this ungenerous Usage, that he enter'd into the most desperate Measures to be reveng'd upon *Ptolemy*. He took a Resolution to try if, with the Assistance of only twelve Friends, he could not persuade the *Egyptians* to depose their Tyrant, and recover their Freedom. To this End, he issued into the City of *Alexandria*, at the Head of his small Party, crying out, *Liberty, Liberty*. He killed the Governor of the City, with some other of *Ptolemy's* Officers; but soon found that the Word *Liberty* had not the same Charms in the Ears of a People accustomed to *Slavery*, than it had in *Greece*. The mean-spirited *Egyptians* durst neither join, nor oppose him; which when *Cleomenes* saw, he declared, That a Nation deserved to be *Slaves*, who would not embrace *Liberty* when it was offered to them; and despairing of Success among such a People, he and his twelve Friends all fell upon their own Swords. When *Ptolemy*, who was not in *Alexandria*, heard of this Adventure, with the mean Cruelty which is natural to a Tyrant, he order'd the Children and Mother of *Cleomenes*, with such Spartan Ladies as were with her, to be put to Death: But the *Egyptians* soon after reflecting upon the prodigious Courage *Cleomenes* had shewn, (and struck with an odd Accident,) ran in Processions to the Place where his Body was exposed, calling him an *Hero*, and *Son of the Gods*.

Egypt, was such an Instance of *Rashness*, (I had almost said of *Madness*,) as I believe can scarce be parallel'd in all History; and yet this very Exploit made your Enemies, the *Egyptians*, adore you as an Hero after your Death, and gave Occasion to our Countryman *Dryden* to close your Tragedy on the *English* Stage with the following Lines, which he puts in the Mouth of *Sosybius*, first Minister to young *Ptolemy*, King of *Egypt*;

*Take up that Hero's Body, bear it high,
Like the Procession of a Deity ;
Let his arm'd Figure on his Tomb be set,
And we, like Slaves, lie grov'ling at his Feet ;
Whose Glories, growing till his latest Breath,
Excell'd all others, and his own, in Death.*

I hope I have by this Time a little reconcil'd your Majesty to *Rash Valour*; and that you will please to observe, that almost every Instance of it, which I have given, is in the Person of a Commander in chief; whereas, when the King of *Great Britain* hazarded his sacred Life too much, he only serv'd as a *Volunteer*; which certainly render'd his Beha-

Behaviour the more excusable; and I have taken care to *acquaint* those who read my Poem with *this Circumstance*. Your Majesty must likewise know, that there is hardly any Quality which more endears a Prince to the People of *England*, than *personal Courage*; and I have often thought that my Countrymen are not much in the Wrong. It is certain this Virtue is generally accompanied with great *Generosity* and *good Nature*: We seldom hear that a Man of *real Courage*, is guilty either of a *mean* or a *cruel Action*. Mr. Dryden in one of his Discourses before his Translation of *Virgil*, observes very prettily, that *Such Men as are not rather too full of Spirit when they are young, degenerate to Dullness in their Age*; that *Sobriety in our riper Years, is the Effect of a well-concocted Warmth*; but that where the Principles are only *Phlegm*, nothing can be expected but an *insipid Manhood*. He adds, *RASHNESS is a NOBLE FAULT: But Time and Experience will correct that Error, and tame it into a deliberate and well-weigh'd Courage, which knows both to be cautious, and to dare, as Occasion offers*. After all I have said, I will allow your Majesty that *rash Valour* is a

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Fault;

Fault; but then I must add, that it is such a Fault as few but Heroes are guilty of, and which no one Hero was ever yet without. I will farther own to your Majesty, that when my Thoughts were employed upon the Battle at *Oudenard*, I could not without Concern see the King of *Great Britain* hazarding that Life too freely, which I hope Providence preserv'd, that it might prove a Blessing, not only to this Island, but to all *Europe*; and therefore with the Freedom of an *English Man*, I took the Liberty to caution my Prince against this same *rash Valour*; as your Majesty may see I have done in those Lines which immediately follow those I last quoted out of my Poem.

*Yet pardon, Mighty Chief, the faithful Muse,
If what she must admire, she can't excuse.*

*A Day will come, if I aright foresee,
When Europe's Eyes shall all be fix'd on thee;
When one decisive Triumph o'er thy Foes,
Shall give her Freedom, and the World Repose.
But on that glorious, that important Day,
When all the War shall stand in full Array;
When on each Side the sprightly Trumpets sound,
And the loud Cannons scatter Death around,*

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*The rapid Ardour of thy Breast compose,
Nor like a Whirlwind plunge amidst thy Foes ;
Then think on Oudenard's unequal Plain,
Nor thus expose thy sacred Life again ;
Suspend thy dreadful Sword, tho' lifted high,
And on thy Presence, and thy Voice rely.*

HAVING endeavour'd to shew, that, though your Majesty was once a great King, you are at present dwindled into a very pitiful Critick; I proceed to the next Paragraph in your Letter, which runs thus:

“ But I have dwelt too long on the stupid
“ Piece; 'tis time to sum this Matter up
“ concisely. What would this Man, and
“ his vain Adherents be at? What more
“ mean Artifice than the meanest they have
“ yet practised, are they now coming into?
“ At the Beginning of the late Sessions of
“ Parliament, it was a Design to destroy
“ the Liberty of the Press; at the End of
“ it, an Act of Indemnity: These infamous
“ Forgeries continued their Day; but being
“ now no more, Eustace Budgell Esq; is
“ pitched upon to supply their Room, and
“ furnish our fresh Calumny; and did
“ his

" his Ability but equal the Inclination he
" has discover'd of discharging his Trust to
" the Satisfaction of his Employers, they
" would by this Choice have given us the
" best Testimony they ever produced of a
" good Judgment."

YOUR Majesty, in the Paragraph before this, having made that *judicious Criticism* which I have endeavoured to answer, proceeds in this Paragraph, with the Authority of an absolute Monarch, to pronounce my whole Poem a *stupid Piece*. I have already acquainted your Majesty, that if ever I had any Genius for Poetry, I have long since endeavoured to *stifle*, and not to *improve* it. I am very sensible, that there are many of my Fellow-Subjects who can write better Verses than my self; yet, since your Majesty is pleased to be so very severe on this same *stupid Piece* of mine, (which, by-the-by, is calling the Judgment of some other People in question,) I cannot help making your Majesty the following *fair Proposal*. The Poem I wrote, was upon the King of Great Britain's Journey to Cambridge and New-Market: I endeavoured in that Poem, to give

give the Publick some Idea, of the many great and royal *Virtues* of my Lawful Sovereign; I dedicated it to my Queen, who is remarkable for her Conjugal Virtues, her good *Taste*, and her Love of Poetry, and whom I have endeavoured to represent as a Person worthy in every Respect to share the Throne with her Royal Consort. Now, if your Majesty, and all your illustrious Family, will but vouchsafe to lay your wise Heads together, and pay an handomer Compliment than I have done, on the same Occasion, to the King and Queen of Great Britain, I do hereby promise your Majesty, that I will never more trouble the Publick with a single Line of my *Stupidity*, either in *Prose* or *Verse*. I hope, that since your Majesty is become an *Author*, you cannot think it beneath you to set about the Task I have proposed; but that you will vouchsafe to say something in Praise of the King of Great Britain, after having already condescended to write a Panegyrick upon one of his Subjects. I must take the Liberty to tell your Majesty, that though you sat upon the Throne of Sparta, neither the *Theme*, nor the *Employment* would be below you. When

your Majesty was in the Height of your Power, you never was able to accomplish your favourite Project of being declared the Captain-General of *Greece*; your Majesty was never compleatly Master of all *Peloponnesus*: *Aratus* was a continual Thorn in your Sides: You were repulsed from *Corinth*, and lost the Cities of *Argos* and *Megalopolis*, almost as soon as you had taken them. At laſt, the *Macedonians* gave you the *Coup de Grace*, put an end to your extravagant Ambition, and ſent you packing into *Egypt*. The King of *Great Britain's* Civil-List, for the Maintainance of his Family, is I believe more than twenty Times as much as ever *Sparta* paid to her Prince: The Splendour of his Court is in Proportion; and would appear incredibile to thoſe who never ſaw any Thing better than the black Broth, coarſe Cakes, and ſhort Cloaks of the *Lacedæmonians*. My Legal Sovereign maintains a more numerous Army in Time of Peace, than your Majesty ever appeared at the Head of; and has at the ſame Time, a Fleet that makes him dreaded by the moſt diſtant Nations. He has Territories larger than all *Greece* in a certain Part of the World,

World, which your *Seven Wise Men* never heard of. Believe me therefore, Royal Sir, it will be no manner of Disgrace to you, to exert your happy Talent at Panegyrick on this great Prince. I shall wait for your Production with the utmost Impatience, and endeavour to correct the Errors in my own *stupid Piece*, by the more masterly Beauties of your Majesty's Composition.

YOUR Majesty becomes conscious, at last, that you *have dwelt too long on this stupid Piece*; and adds, '*tis time to sum this Matter up concisely*. I fancy your Majesty has just now recollect'd that you are a *Spartan*, and are resolv'd for the future to write in Character. I believe, indeed, that your Majesty's Letter, of which I have the Honour to be the Subject, is by much the longest *Laconick Epistle* of any Extant; and will doubtless be valued accordingly by Posterity. We are told, that when your Countryman *Lysander* had taken *Athens*, a City which had so often struggled with *Sparta* her self for the Dominion of *Greece*, he wrote nothing more to your *Ephori* than this, *Athens is taken*; and that he received the following Answer

from those Magistrates in the same Laconick Stile, *You say Athens is taken: We are satisfied.* But this was in those Times, when your Succelles were so frequent, that the Messenger, who brought you Word of your great Victory at *Mantinea*, (so fully described by *Thucydides*,) had no other Reward for his Pains than a good Piece of Powdered Beef, which was sent home to his Lodgings.

YOUR Majesty at present, I find is not so very sparing of your Words as your Countrymen were formerly, but can argue a Case as learnedly, and as fully as any of the Moderns. Your Majesty is pleased in that Paragraph of your Letter, which I am now answering, to take Notice of some of those Reports which you are pleased to call *infamous Forgeries*, and which have been invented to blacken the Reputation of your Hero. At the Beginning of the late Sessions of Parliament, (says your Majesty) it was — a Design to destroy the Liberty of the Press: At the End of it — an Act of Indemnity.

I SHALL in the first Place consider the first of these Reports.

IT is very certain that it has been reported, a Design was on foot to take away the Liberty of the Press, and even that some particular Persons had been tampered with to this End: But I do intirely agree with your Majesty, that it is impossible this Report could be any Thing more than an *infamous Forgery*. The *Liberty of the Press* is, in my humble Opinion, absolutely necessary to preserve the *Liberty of Great Britain*: And I will lay before your Majesty some Reasons, why I cannot believe that any *Englishman*, and more especially your Majesty's *Hero*, could possibly be so *wicked*, as to attempt to take away this *great* and most *essential* Part of the *British Liberties*.

I BEG leave to be pretty particular on this *Important Subject*.

I WILL consider what the *Liberty of the Press* really is; in what Manner it has been enjoyed, and made use of by every *free*

People, and particularly by the Greeks and Romans; what vast Advantages accrue from it; how little the Innocent need to apprehend it; and, lastly, I will give my particular Reasons, why I cannot believe that your Majesty's *Hero* has any Design to deprive *Great Britain* of this invaluable Branch of her Liberty.

I TAKE the *Liberty of the Press*, to be *A Liberty for every Man to communicate his Sentiments freely to the Publick, upon political or religious Points*: I am humbly of Opinion, that the Liberty of the Press is either *This, or Nothing*. I never yet heard, but that in those Countries where Men are the greatest *Slaves*, they might write as *much*, and in *what Manner* they pleased, upon any Subjects but *Religion* and *Politicks*. I dare say, a Man might publish his Thoughts with the *utmost Freedom*, either in *Turky* or *Denmark*, upon the *Nature of Butterflies*, or the *Virtues of the Loadstone*.

TIMOLEON is, beyond Dispute, one of the most illustrious Examples, among all the Ancients, of a *true Patriot*, and a *Lover of Liberty*:

berty : When his Brother *Timophanes*, whose Life he had generously preserved, by standing over his Body when he fell in a Battle, and sustaining alone for some Time the united Force of a Multitude of his Enemies; I say, when this very *Timophanes*, his beloved Brother, had destroyed the Constitution of *Corinth*, and made himself the Tyrant of his Country, *Timoleon* was the Chief of the *Conspirators* who slew him, though even while the Action was doing, Nature and his fraternal Love, forced a Shower of Tears from his manly Eyes. The same *Timoleon*, after having freed his own Country, with an incredible Felicity expelled those three powerful Tyrants *Dionysius*, *Hippo*, and *Mamercus*, and drove every other Tyrant out of *Sicily*. One would imagine that after these Actions, *Timoleon* must have been dear to the *Sicilians*; and in Effect he really was so. We are told, however, that one *Demanetus*, of *Syracuse*, out of mere Envy to that prodigious Reputation *Timoleon* had so justly acquired, took all Opportunities to disparage his Conduct, and even to talk publickly against him in the bitterest Terms. When *Timoleon* was informed of this Man's Behaviour, instead of

taking Revenge, as he might easily have done; he declared in a Transport of Joy, That *The Gods had at last granted him the greatest Favour they could have conferred upon him*; since it had been the constant Subject of his Prayers, That the Syracusians might enjoy so perfect a State of Liberty, that every Man among them might speak freely, and with Impunity, whatever he thought of another. *Nunc demum se voti esse damnatum; namque hoc à diis immortalibus semper precatum, ut talem libertatem restituerent Syracusanis, in quā cuivis liceret, de quo vellet impunè dicere.* These were Timoleon's Sentiments of *Liberty*; who was as great, and as successful an Assertor of it, as ever yet appeared in the World; and whose Nations of it, I believe, no Man of Sense will have the Assurance to dispute,

IN plain Terms, I do not see how any other *Restraint* can be put upon the *Press*, in a Nation that pretends to *Liberty*, but what is just sufficient to prevent Men from writing either *Blasphemy*, or *Treason*. I mean by *Treason*, any Thing that tends directly to call our Legal Sovereign's Right in question

ftion, to the Crown of *Great Britain*; or to incite his Subjects to an *open Rebellion*, or *secret Conspiracy* against his *most sacred Person*. As to the censuring the Conduct of any particular Man, (except his Majesty,) who fancies himself qualified for, and will take upon him the Administration of publick Affairs, this was thought so very *reasonable*, and even *necessary* among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, that they preserved *this Branch of Liberty*, even in those Times, when they had lost every other Part of it; and I shall endeavour to make it appear, that their *Notion of Liberty*, was the same with *Timo-
leon's*.

A BAD Minister in the *Athenian Commonwealth*, was sure to be mawled by the Wits and Poets, and to have the Mortification of seeing his *Name* made use of without the least Ceremony, and his *Vices* and *Blunders* exposed upon the Publick Stage: Nay, though a Man had done his Country the most important Service, his *Vices*, or *ill Actions* were not spared.

THEMISTOCLES had defeated the Fleet of Xerxes at the Battle of Salamis, and by his Conduct and Courage drove that Prince out of Greece; yet, when after these Successes he became Cruel, Insolent, and Rapacious, the Poet *Timocreon* (to whom he had been particularly ungrateful) fell upon him in those Lines which are still extant, and which are to this Effect; *It is impossible, that the dark Actions of the base Themistocles, can be agreeable to the Divine Latona: He has violated the sacred Rites of Hospitality, and for the sake of a sordid Gain, been guilty of the most scandalous Ingratitude towards his old Friend and Host Timocreon.* For three Talents he recals some Men from Banishment, murders others, and is become profligate enough to laugh at his own Villanies. With the Wealth which he has amassed together by these shameful Methods, he swallows in Luxury, and keeps an open House in the Isthmus; but is so hated and detested, that the very People who eat at his Table, beseech the Gods that he may not live another Year.

IT had been happy for *Themistocles*, if these Lines of the Poet's had made him mend his *Manners*; but *Pride* and *Power* had so intirely turned his Brains, that the *Athenians*, who had loved and rewarded him for his *Conduct* and *Valour*, were obliged to banish him for his *Insolence* and *Avarice*. *

THE *Athenian* Writers took the same Liberty, with *Pericles*, even after he had subverted the Constitution of his Country, and possessed himself of the Supreme Power; neither durst that *Tyrant* offer to destroy this Branch of Liberty, though he had trampled upon every other Part of it. There is something so very singular in the Character of this Man, by whose ill *Conduct* the most celebrated Republick in *Greece* was ruined, that I cannot forbear giving

* His *Rapaciousness* is evident from hence: He was worth but *Three Talents* when he came into Publick Business; yet when he fled into *Perſia*, though he carried most of his Wealth with him, the *Athenians* made a shift to lay their Hands upon *One Hundred Talents*, which they put into the Publick Treasury.

giving my Readers a particular Account of him; being of Opinion, that no Parts of History are so *curious* and *instructive*, as those which shew, by what *Means* and *Errors* the best Constitutions have been subverted and destroyed. After having given some Account of *Pericles* himself, I shall shew in what Manner he was treated, even in the Height of his Power, by the *Athenian* Writers, who scorned to let their Pens be enslaved, and preferred the *Good of their Country* to every other Consideration.

PERICLES, in his very Nature was envious, proud, cruel, avaritious, and impudent; his Eloquence, to which he chiefly trusted, was improv'd, if not learnt, under a *Woman*, viz. the famous *Aspasia*; and was, indeed, truly *Feminine*: It consisted chiefly in what the *French* call a *Flux de Bouche*, or a prodigious *Volubility* and *Flow of Words*; which being deliver'd in a specious and plausible Manner, his Speeches seldom failed of making an Impression upon his Audience; but were so far from having any real Strength or Solidity, that they would not bear *reading*. We are therefore not to wonder that

so

so good a Judge as *Quintilian* should declare, after having perused them, that they by no Means answered the Idea he had formed to himself of *Pericles*, who was so much talked of for an Orator: But whatever his Speeches might want of real *Strength* or *Argument*, was abundantly supplied by a never-failing and consummate *Affurance*.

THERE cannot be a better Description of his Way of managing a Debate, than the Account given of it to *Archidamus*, King of *Sparta*, by *Thucydides*, who was the greatest Statesman of his Age, and constantly opposed the Measures of *Pericles*. Your Majesty's Predecessor having demanded of this great Man, *Which was the better Wrestler, himself or Pericles; When I have flung him fairly, (says Thucydides,) he has always the consummate Assurance to maintain, that he had no Fall; and by meer Dint of Impudence often persuades the whole Assembly to be of that Opinion.* *Pericles thus qualified, resolved to talk himself into Affairs, and to become the most powerful Man in Athens.*

Two

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Two terrible Difficulties seem'd to oppose his Design: There was no Way of rising in the Commonwealth, but by persuading the People to have a great Opinion of his Capacity, either for *Military* or *Civil* Affairs. In these two Parts of the Government, two Men distinguished themselves, who we are assured were vastly superior to him in Abilities, *viz.* *Cimon* and *Thucydides*. I shall say something of each of them.

CIMON was the Son of that *Miltiades*, who was named by the Oracle at *Delphi* to command that Colony the *Athenians* planted in *Thrace*; and who afterwards, at the Head of ten thousand Men, defeated the numerous Army of *Darius* in the Plains of *Marathon*. When *Cimon* was a young Man, he was flung into Prison for a large Debt of his Father's, and lay there a considerable Time, till this Debt was discharged by a Moneyed Man, who married his Sister. After having recover'd his Liberty, he gave such Proofs of an uncommon Capacity, that the *Athenians* made him their General. His Successes would hardly be credited, if all Historians in effect had

had not given us the same Account of them. He defeated the *Thracians* at the River *Strymon*, built the City *Amphipolis*, and peopled it with a Colony of ten thousand *Athenians*: His Address and Affability render'd *Athens* the Mistress of all *Greece*. The *Grecian Cities*, shock'd at the haughty Carriage of *Pausanias*, King of *Sparta*, unanimously ranged themselves under the Standard of *Cimon*.

He now turn'd his Arms against the *Persian Empire*, that constant and dreadful Enemy to *Greece*. After several great Actions, at last, with a Felicity which no General has yet equalled, he obtained on the same Day one most glorious Victory at Sea, and another at Land. We are expressly told, that the first of these was greater than the celebrated Victory of *Salamis*; and the last, than that of *Platea*. The King of *Persia*, commonly call'd the *Great King*, amazed at these prodigious Successes, was glad to make a Peace with *Cimon* upon any Conditions, and yielded the *Dominion of the Sea* so entirely to the *Athenians*, that he agreed none of his Galleys, or Men of War, should ever appear for the future

future between the *Cyænean* and the *Chelidonian* Islands.* After *Cimon* had performed all these glorious Actions, after he had entirely subdued the *Thracians*, subjected all the *Chersonese* to the Commonwealth of *Athens*, and enriched the City with the Spoils of *Persia*, so great was his Generosity and good Nature, and so truly had his own *Affictions* taught him to *pity* the *Unfortunate*, that he pull'd down all the Inclosures of his Gardens and Grounds, that Travellers might gather his Fruits freely, and at Discretion. At Home he kept an *open Table*; to which he constantly invited such of his Fellow-Citizens as he saw in the Forum. He always went abroad with a Train of Servants handsomely dressed, who followed him with a considerable Sum of Money. There was no such Thing in the Streets of *Athens* as a Beggar; but if *Cimon* saw any of his Fellow-Citizens who look'd dejected, seemed to be pinched in his Circumstances, and was but indifferently dressed, he immediately sent one

of

* Consequently, by this Treaty, he could neither enter the *Egean* Sea by the *Euxine*, nor the *Mediterranean* by the Seas of *Pamphylia* or *Syria*; so that the *Athenians* had a vast and safe *Trade* secured to them.

of his Retinue to give him Money privately, and to change Cloaths with him. In a Word, his whole Interest and his Estate were always at the Service of *Merit in Distress*; and many an *Athenian* had his Fortune made easy by the sole Generosity of this god-like Man. Most of the Particulars I have mention'd, and some others, are comprised in the following Account of him: *Cimonem Atheniensēs non solum in Bello, sed in pace dia desideraverunt; fuit enim tantā liberalitate quum compluribus locis prædia hortosque haberet, ut nunquam eis Custodem posuerit fructū servandi gratiā, ne quis impediretur quo minus ejus rebus quibus vellet frueretur. Semper eum pedissequi cum nummis sunt secuti, ut si quis opis ejus indigeret, haberet quod statim daret, ne differendo videretur negare. Sæpe quum aliquem offensum fortuna videret minùs bene vestitum, suum amiculum dedit. Quotidie sic cœna ei coquebatur, ut quos invocatos vidisset in foro omnes devocaret: Quod facere nullam diem prætermittebat. Nulli fides ejus, nulli opera, nulli res familiaris defuit: Multos locupletavit: Complures pauperes mortuos, qui unde offerrentur non reliquissent, suo sumptu extulit. Nep.*

Such

SUCH was the Character of the generous *Cimon*, who marched at the Head of the *Athenian* Armies much farther than any General had led them before; and upon whose Death it was truly said, That *the Fortune of Greece perished with him*.

THUCYDIDES was either the Father-in-Law, or * Son-in-Law of *Cimon*: He chose to ally himself by Marriage to this General, that he might be the better enabled to oppose *Pericles*, whose Designs he plainly saw tended to alter the Laws of *Solon*, subvert the *Athenian* Constitution, and destroy the Commonwealth, that he might from the Ruins of it enrich *himself and his Family*. *Thucydides* was a Man of great Learning, Courage, and Integrity, and is generally allow'd to have been the most able Statesman in his Time. *Plutarch* himself, who is commonly a little partial to the Person whose Life he is writing, is however forced to allow in his Life of *Pericles*, that *Thucydides* was a much better Politician.

THESE

* The Greek Word *πατερίς* signifies both *Gener* and *Socer*; and the Critics are divided in their Opinions.

THESE were the two Men, whom, in order to get all the *Power* and *Revenues* of the Commonwealth into his own Hands, it was absolutely necessary *Pericles* should ruin.

HE had neither a *Soul*, nor a *Fortune*, large enough to rival *Cimon* in acts of *Generosity* and *Good-nature*: He therefore preferred a Bill to divide all the publick Lands, and the Money in the Treasury, among the common People. By this *Trick*, he *corrupted* the *Athenians* with their *own Money*, made them *purchase* their *own Chains*, and got a Party strong enough to abolish the Power of the *Areopagites*, and to banish *Cimon*.

HE pretended he had discovered a *Plot*; that a *Party* at *Athens* was in the *Lacedæmonian* Interest; and that *Cimon* was the *Chief* of this *Party*.

HAVING, by the Help of this most false and wicked Calumny, got rid of *Cimon*, he grew *jealous* of the most considerable and *able* Men among his own Friends; and therefore (according to *Idomeneus*) with the

most horrid Barbarity and Ingratitude, he caused the Orator *Ephialtes*, who had been of infinite Service to him, to be *privately assassinated*.

THE *Lacedæmonian* Army now falling into *Tanagra*, *Pericles* was obliged to march against them: When the two Armies were ready to engage, the banished *Cimon*, still zealous for the Glory of *Athens*, came armed, and ranged himself as a private Soldier, among those of his own Tribe. The *mean Jealousy* of *Pericles* could not endure this Sight; he thought himself *sure* of the *Victory*, and could not bear to think *Cimon* should have any Share in the Glory of it. He therefore obliged him to retire. The generous *Cimon* was more troubled at being prevented from fighting for his Country, than at his being banished out of it. He left the Army with Tears in his Eyes; but before he went away, conjured his Friends to behave in such a Manner, that all the World might be convinced how *unjustly* they were accused of favouring the *Lacedæmonians*. The Battle join'd; The *Athenians* were defeated: *Pericles* with a good Number of his Friends,
got

got safe to *Athens*: But the Friends of *Cimon*, being an Hundred in Number, and placing a Suit of Armour of that General's in the midst of their little Battalion, that the Sight of it might make them remember his Advice, fought with so desperate a Courage, that every Man of them was slain upon the Field of Battle. The *Athenians* were now, too late, sensible how unjustly they had distrusted their gallant Countrymen, and that *Pericles* had only divided them into *Parties*, that he might himself play the Tyrant with the more Security.

THE *Athenians* after this Battle were obliged to sue for a Peace, which the *Spartans* granted; and gave *Pericles* Leisure to sacrifice the most valuable Man that was still left at *Athens* to his *Envy* and *Jealousy*. He banished *Thucydides*; and now, as he was no longer afraid of the Man, who in all Assemblies of the People, had constantly opposed him, he threw off the Mask of *Popularity*, gave way to his *natural Pride* and *Insolence*, and assumed an unprecedented Power over the Commonwealth.

A NEW Quarrel arising between *Sparta* and *Athens*, the *Lacedæmonians* sent an Army into *Attica*, under the Command of their King *Plistonax*. *Pericles*, who had already been beaten by the *Spartans*, durst not engage them a second Time. He resolved to try if he could not carry his Point by *Corruption* as well in the *Field*, as he had often done at *Athens*.

THE King of *Sparta* was very young, and suffered himself to be wholly governed by one *Cleandridas* his Favourite. *Pericles* having *bribed* this Man, the King of *Sparta* was perswaded to withdraw his Army out of the *Athenian* Territories. The *Lacedæmonians* were not used to see their Armies return home without fighting; they immediately deposed * and banished their King. They proceeded to no farther Extremities
against

* It was usual with the *Spartans* to fine, to depose, and sometimes even to put their Kings to Death: I cannot but prefer our own Constitution in this Particular, by which the Persons of our Kings are declared *Sacred*, and their Ministers alone are made accountable for what is done to the *Prejudice* of the *Publick*.

against their King in Consideration of his Youth; but his corrupt Minister *Cleandridas* was put to Death.

THEY now sent out another Army under the Command of *Archidamus*, whom they had chosen for their King. *Pericles* could not corrupt this Prince, who had no favourite Minister. All he could get from him was *a dishonourable Truce*, and to obtain this Favour, he was forced to submit to the *scandalous Terms* of giving up several of the *Athenian Territories* to their Enemies, the *Lacedæmonians*.

PERICLES sometime after this, upon laying his Accounts before the *Athenians* of the publick Money, which all passed through his Hands, put down in every Year an Article to this Effect: *For a certain necessary Affair Ten Talents*. By his Creatures and Dependants, he perswaded the People to pass this Article in his Account, without enquiring into the Meaning of it; and, perhaps, this is the first Instance to be found in History of *Secret-service Money*.

MANY People think that he put this Sum into his own Pocket : *Theophrastus*, and other Authors say, that he privately sent it every Year to some of the chief Men at *Sparta*, and by this Means prevented the *Lacedæmonians* from declaring War against the *Athenians*. If this be true, he was guilty of a Piece of Baseness, which his Countrymen must have highly resented, if they had but known it ; since in fact, this was nothing less than rendering *Athens tributary to Sparta*. All he got by it, was to defer a War for a few Years, which at length fell much heavier upon the *Athenians*, than it could have done at *this Time*.

DURING the *Truce* with *Sparta*, the whole Revenue of the Commonwealth ran through the Hands of *Pericles*. To shew the People he did *something* with it, he set about several publick Buildings, which were rather *Ornaments* to the *City*, than really *Necessary*. He squandered away a prodigious Sum upon these Buildings, and upon *Statues* and *Paintings* to adorn them. The *Athenians* in general were highly displeased

pleased at this Proceeding. Their Murmurs grew so loud at last, that *Pericles* found it necessary to call an *Assembly of the People*, and give them some Satisfaction. He asked them, If they thought he had laid out too much Money upon the *publick Buildings*? The *People* unanimously answered, *A great deal too much.* Very well, says *Pericles*, I will therefore be at the *Expence of all these Buildings*: But then, Gentlemen, You must allow me to clap my own Name upon them, and to dedicate them my self.

THE *Athenians* in general were extremely fond of fine *Buildings*. These were truly *beautiful*; for *Pericles* had employed the most celebrated Workmen in all *Greece*. His sudden and unexpected *Proposal* piqued the *Pride* of the *Athenian People*. This *Passion* ran away with their *Discretion*: They cried out to him to finish the *Buildings* at the *Expence of the Publick*; and *Pericles* took care to *take them at their Word*. This *Stratagem* has been much admired by some ancient Authors, and the *Magnanimity* both of *Pericles* and the *Athenians*, has been highly commended. With

Submission, I think this most impudent Proposal was a plain Demonstration of what immense Sums he had robbed the Publick ; and I am surprized, that so discerning a People as the *Athenians* did not take it in *this Light*. It is certain that *Pericles* was not one of the *richest Men in Athens*, when he came into publick Business: And it may be proved from History, that these Buildings had already cost almost *Four Thousand Talents*, a *prodigious Sum*, especially in those Days.

PERICLES having obtained his Truce from the *Lacedæmonians*, undertook that notable Expedition against *Samos*, upon which he ever afterwards so much valued himself. The *Cause* of his declaring War against the *Samians*, was the most *scandalous* that can be imagined. He fell upon that unhappy People purely at the Request of *Aspasia*. This Woman, who was a *Milesian*, had a good deal of *Wit*, joined to a most consummate *Assurance*, and so fluent a *Way of Talking*, that even *Socrates* himself, and some of the wisest Men in *Athens*, were now and then well enough pleased to hear her *prate*. She got her living by having constantly a
Parcel

Parcel of young Wenches about her, and keeping the most notorious Brothel in all the City. We may see by the last of *Theophrastus's Characters*, that this Trade was no less scandalous among the *Athenians*, than it is at present with us.

PERICLES had kept company with *Aspasia* for some Years, and was thought, as I have already observed, to have learnt his Eloquence from her. At last, to please her, he put away his own *Wife*, a Lady of Merit and Virtue, and in the Sight of all *Athens* married this profligate *Strumpet*. The *Samians* were at War with the *Milesians*, for the Mastery of *Priene*, when *Aspasia* obliged *Pericles* to fall upon the *Samians*, in favour of her Countrymen. He put himself at the Head of the *Athenian* Army upon this shameful Expedition. The *Samians* made a brave Defence for some Time; but being already weakened by the *Milesians*, and unable to resist the most powerful Republick in all *Greece*, their City was at last taken. *Duris*, who was himself a *Samian*, and whom *Cicero* commends for a diligent Historian, says, that *Pericles* used the

the unhappy *Samians* with the utmost Inhumanity; that he ordered great Numbers of them to be fastened to Planks; where, after they had languished for Ten Days together, he commanded them to be slain, and their dead Bodies to be flung out unburied into the Fields and Streets. This last Circumstance was reckoned among the *Greeks* to be the utmost Degree of Cruelty.

UPON his Return to *Athens* from this notable Expedition, he publickly boasted, (if we may believe *Ion*,) that he was a *better General* than *Agamemnon*, because, forsooth, he had taken *Samos* in less than *Ten Years*. He got the *Athenian* Ladies to crown him publickly with Garlands, as they used to crown those Champions, who won the Prizes at the Olympick Games. At this Ceremony, *Elpinice*, Sister of the generous *Cimon*, whom we have already mentioned, had the Courage to mortify his *ridiculous Vanity*: Stepping up to him with a Garland in her Hand, as if she had been going to place it on his Head, *Pericles*, says she, *these notable Exploits of yours do most certainly deserve all our Chaplets: You have spilt*

spilt the Blood of the Athenians, not like my Brother Cimon, in a War against the Persians and Phœnicians (our old Enemies and Barbarians) but to ruin a Grecian City, our ancient Ally, and descended from us. This Reproach was too *just* to admit of a solid Answer. *Pericles* made her no other Reply, than by repeating a Verse out of *Archilocus*, the Sense of which is,

You should not dress and paint at these Years.

THIS was the most *brutish* and *unmannerly* Thing he could have said to a Lady, who but a few Years before had been thought one of the finest Women in all *Greece*, and was the most celebrated *Toast* in *Athens*: It was almost calling her in direct Terms an *old Woman*.

THE *Ruin of Samos* was not the only Thing in which *Pericles* shewed how little he valued the *Lives* of his *Fellow-Citizens*, in Comparison of the Interest of his Family; or his own mean Jealousy and private Revenge: He preferred a Bill, and persuaded the People of *Athens* to pass it into a Law, that

that none should be esteemed true Citizens, but such whose Parents were *both* of them *Athenians*. By Virtue of this Law, about *five thousand* innocent Persons, at once, not only lost the *Freedom* of the City, but were sold for *Slaves*; a Punishment more severe than *Death* itself. The only Design of *Pericles*, in getting this Law passed, was to satisfy his *Jealousy* by the Ruin of that great General *Cimon*, and his Family. *Cimon's* Mother was the Daughter of *Olorus*, King of *Thrace*; and he himself had married a Lady of *Clitorium*, by whom he had two Sons.

PERICLES had several Sons by his own Wife, an *Athenian* Lady, when he got this Law passed; but Providence having some Time after deprived him of those Children, he brought in a Bill, and perswaded the People to repeal that Law which he himself had been the Author of, (and by which so many innocent Persons had suffered,) for no other Reason, but that he might inroll a bastard Son, by his own Name, in the Register of *Athenian* Citizens.

IT hath already been observed, how after the Banishment of *Thucydides*, Pericles had subverted the *Athenian* Constitution; the Praetorial Power, which before was *annual*, he now exercised *constantly* and *alone*, and had brought it to that Height, that it was without Bounds. To avoid a War with the *Lacedæmonians*, he had given up Part of the *Athenian* Territories, and seen his Country long insulted in the most *dishonourable Manner*. At last, purely for his own *Interest* he engaged his Country in a *War* with as little Judgment as he had before prevented their resenting the Injuries they receiv'd. All the publick Revenues had passed through his Hands for a considerable Time; and he had increas'd the Taxes to at least one third more than *Aristides the Just* had settled them at. The People at last resolved to make him give an Account what he had done with so great a Sum of publick Money. Perhaps, though no History says so, they now began to reflect upon the modest Offer he had made them, to lay down about four thousand Talents, at once, out of what he called his *own Money*. It was impossible for him to give a *fair* and
honest

honest Account how he had expended those prodigious Sums he had received; and yet he found it absolutely necessary to lay *something* in the *Shape* of an Account before the People.

WHILE he was under this Perplexity, *Alcibiades*, who was his near *Relation*, and to whom he was *Guardian*, came one Day to his House; but was told by his Servant, *That he could not possibly see his Master, who was busy in making up his Accounts to lay before the People.* Hark you, *Friend*, (says this Urchin, who seemed born to do Mischief,) tell your Master from me, that I am sorry to bear he is no better employed; he ought to be contriving how to give in no Accounts at all. The Servant did as he was ordered, and delivered this graceless Message to his Master. A wicked Mind is always susceptible of wicked Advice; and *Socrates* used to say, that *Ill Counsel was very soon at its Journey's End.* *Pericles* immediately took the Hint his hopeful Pupil had given him: He threw aside his Papers, and resolved to find out some other *Business* for the *Athenians*, than to look over his *Accounts*. In a Word, he determined to

fling every Thing into Confusion, and rather ruin his Country, than suffer himself to be called to an Account for all the publick Money he had embezzled.

THE Method which first occurred to him, was, to light up a bloody and dangerous War against the *Lacedæmonians*; those very People whom he had formerly feared to encounter, from whom he had bought a *dishonourable Truce* and whose Armies, to the Scandal of the *Athenian* State, he had tamely suffered to over-run *Attica*.

THE *Lacedæmonians* at this Time were not in a Disposition to *quarrel*. Their King *Archidamus* did all in his Power to prevent a Rupture, and sent Three Ambassadors to *Athens* to this Purpose; but *Pericles*, who determined to set Fire to the War, to prevent an *Impeachment* against *himself*, was now the only *Athenian* who would not hear of *Peace*. Thus was the *Peloponnesian* War kindled, which ended in the Taking of *Athens*, the Destruction of their Commonwealth, and subjected that miserable People to

to the Power of *thirty Tyrants*, who were placed over them ; and by whom the *divine Socrates* was put to Death, for enveighing against their *Cruelty* and *Oppression*.

WHEN this War first broke out, the *Athenians* soon became sensible how necessary it is even for *States*, as well as *private Persons*, to preserve their *Reputation*. The many Insults they had tamely suffered of late Years from the *Lacedæmonians*, had quite effaced the Memory of their *Victories* under the Conduct of the *illustrious Cimon* ; and the *Græcian Cities*, generally speaking, took Part with the *Spartans*, who had still maintained the Reputation of their *Military Virtue*. *Pericles*, though he had been the sole Author and Promoter of this War, durst not look his Enemies in the Face : He kept his Army within the Walls of *Athens* : The Country People likewise ran thither for Protection ; and such a Multitude of Persons cooped up together, produced that terrible *Plague*, of which *Thucydides* has given us so full a Description, and which gave Occasion to that excellent Poem composed by one of our

our own * Countrymen, and entitled, *The Plague of Athens.*

THE most mortifying Circumstance in the Destruction of the *Athenian Commonwealth*, was, that they were vanquished at *Sea* in that Battle which decided their *Fate*. They had been, till that Time, ever reckoned the *Masters of the Sea*: The *Piræum*, which joined their City, was the most celebrated Harbour in all *Greece*; and at the Beginning of this War, they had a Fleet of no less than one hundred and fifty Ships.

SUCH were the Consequences of *Pericles's Administration*, who maintained himself in Power the *longest* of any *Statesman* at *Athens*; and by the Help of an *immoderate Assurance*, and a fluent *Way of prating*, had *talked* himself up to the Head of Affairs, and deprived the Commonwealth of her most valuable Citizens.

THERE is one *Particular* in the Character of this Man, which, since I omitted to men-

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* Dr. *Sprat*, Bishop of *Rochester*.

tion in its proper Place, I shall take notice of here. I cannot find, that during the whole Time of his shameful Administration, in a City the most celebrated in the World for *Arts* and *Sciences*, he ever preferred, or did one generous Thing for a Man of *Parts* and *Learning* : There is the most *scandalous Instance* of his behaving in a contrary Manner, which can, perhaps, be met with in all History.

IF he had any Learning, or any Thing else truly valuable in him, it is confessed that he owed it to his Tutor *Anaxagoras*.

THIS great Philosopher, though born to a good Paternal Estate, suffered it to lie like a Common, to be grazed by his Neighbour's Cattle, and made no private Advantage of it. He applied himself wholly to his Studies; and we are told that the *Græcians* had so great an Opinion of his *Wisdom*, that they commonly called him *N&S;*, that is, *Mind*, *Intelligence*, or *Understanding*.

HE is said to have been the first of all the Philosophers, who, instead of ascribing the Formation of the World either to *Chance* or *Necessity*, undertook to demonstrate, from the wonderful Beauty and Order of all its Parts, that the Disposition of them must have been the Work of a *Wise* and *Intelligent* Being ; and perhaps this *particular Tenet*, as well as his own *Wisdom*, might acquire him the Surname of *Nos*.

ANAXAGORAS had not only instructed *Pericles* in Philosophy, but had frequently assisted him with his *Advice* in his greatest Difficulties as a Counsellor of State. *Pericles*, to shew his *Gratitude*, while the Wealth of *Greece* ran every Year through his Hands, and while he daily laid out such immense Sums upon *Pictures*, *Statues*, and *Buildings*, suffered this great Man to want even the *common Necessaries of Life*. The Philosopher had a *Soul* too big to ask : He resolved to *starve himself*; and to this purpose lay down upon the Ground, and *covered his Head*, as it was customary with the

Ancients * to do, when some great *Misfortune* had made them weary of *Life*, and they had determined to *die*. This Piece of News was soon carried to *Pericles*. To prevent the Censure of the World, he immediately ran to his old Tutor: He pretended to lament over him in the most Passionate Manner, but to be chiefly concerned at his own losing so wise and able a Counsellor. The Philosopher hearing this, was no longer able to endure the Complaint of such a Monster of *Ingratitude* and *Hypocrisy*: He unmuffled himself; and discovering his meagre Face, *Pericles*, says he, *a Man who wants the Light of a Lamp, takes care, at least, to supply it with Oil.* Intimating, in an handsome Manner, that if he would have had him live, he ought to have allowed him a proper Maintenance. He vouchsafed to say nothing more to his worthless Pupil.

SOCRATES

*Nam male re gestâ cum vellem mittere operto
Me Capite in Flumen ——————* HOR.

*————— Caput glauco contexit amictu,
Multâ gemens. ——————* VIRG.

SOCRATES, who was not only one of the *wisest*, but perhaps the *best* of meer Men, that ever appeared in the World, was likewise Cotemporary with *Pericles*. *Socrates* had several very great Men for his Disciples, among whom were *Plato* and * *Xenophon*. Yet I cannot find that our *worthless Statesman*, with all his Pretensions to *Eloquence*, ever took the least Notice of any of them. He might possibly be afraid that such Men, if he had conversed familiarly with them, would soon see through him ; and yet I do not think that this is a sufficient Explanation of his Conduct. I know not whether I have not hit upon the *true Reason* of it : I have already described *Pericles* to be a Man full of the most *mean* and *pitiful Jealousies*. I have

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already

* *Xenophon* was not only one of the greatest Scholars, but one of the greatest Generals of his Age. His *Cyropædia* is a convincing Proof of his Genius and Learning ; and his Retreat from *Babylon* after the Death of *Cyrus*, at the Head of Ten thousand *Greeks*, through so many vast Countries belonging to his Enemies, is the most celebrated Exploit of that kind in all History. We are told, that *Mark Anthony*, in his Retreat out of *Parthia*, when he saw so many of his Men killed by the *Barbarians*, used to cry out, *Oh ! the Ten Thousand, the Ten Thousand !* in Remembrance of this famous Retreat of *Xenophon's*.

already observed, how strongly his pernicious Measures were opposed by the great and learned *Thucydides*: I find besides, that another learned Man, and celebrated Author, had a Right to at least half the Reputation of the most glorious Campaign *Pericles* ever made; and that he was twice soundly beaten at Sea by an eminent *Philosopher*.

PLUTARCH expressly tells us, that the most successful of all *Pericles's Expeditions*, and which gave the *Athenians* most Satisfaction, was that in which he sailed round the *Peloponnesus*. I cannot find that any considerable Battle was fought during this Expedition; however, the *Spartan Territories* were sufficiently harrassed, and a great Part of *Achaea* reduced. But then there is a certain Circumstance, which, though *Plutarch* takes no notice of, we learn sufficiently from other Authors, viz. That *Sophocles*, that celebrated Writer of Tragedies, (who overcame *Æschilus* in a solemn Contention, and some of whose Pieces are come down to us,) was made General, and had an equal Command with *Pericles* in this Expedition, both over the Fleet, and the Land Forces which were

were on Board it. The *Athenian* Fleet divided when they came to *Peloponnesus*, and acted in two distinct Squadrons; *Sophocles* commanded one of these Squadrons, and *Pericles* the other; so that *Sophocles* had at least a Right to one half of the Reputation which was acquired in this Fortunate Campaign.*

THE second Fact, I mentioned, is related by *Aristotle*, who was *Plato's* Scholar, and lived immediately after *Pericles*. *Aristotle* says, That *Pericles* was soundly beat in two several Engagements at Sea by *Melissus*, who was one of the greatest Philosophers in *Greece*, and whom the *Samians* had made their General. When *Pericles* was thus beaten, he had the sole Command of the *Athenian* Fleet and Army: He was not then assisted by the Conduct and Courage of the celebrated *Sophocles*.

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* *Igitur Athenienses adversus tantam tempestatem belli, duos duces diligunt, Periclem spectatæ virtutis virum, & Sophoclem Scriptorem Tragœdiarum: qui diviso exercitu, & Spartanorum agros vastaverunt, & multas Achææ civitates Atheniensium imperio adjecerunt.* JUST. *Cicero* likewise, and other Authors, take notice of *Sophocles's* being General in this Expedition.

IF we reflect upon the natural Temper of *Pericles*, full of the *meanest Jealousy*, and then consider the several Facts I have just mentioned, it will perhaps not appear so very strange, that he should have so strong an Antipathy to Men of *Parts* and *Learning*.

IT is time I should shew in what Manner, even in the Height of his *arbitrary Administration*, and amidst all his *Power* and *Greatness*, the *Athenian* Writers took the Liberty to speak of him.

THE Wits of *Athens*, in regard of the tyrannical Power he had assumed, commonly called him *Pisistratus*, which was the Name of a famous Tyrant who once reigned in *Athens*. They likewise branded his *Creatures* and *Tools* with the odious Title of the *Pisistratides*. A Comick Poet, called *Teleclides*, upbraids his Countrymen the *Athenians* in one of his Pieces, for *Tamely suffering* one worthless Fellow to dispose of all the publick Money; to affront such of their Allies as he thought fit; to make Peace or War at his own *Discretion*; and finally, to

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have it in his Power to ruin the Commonwealth, in order to gratify his own private Revenge, or shameful Avarice. In another of his Plays he names him without the least Ceremony, and says, that *At present he is hardly able to support the Weight of his own monstrous Head, and does not know which Way to turn himself, amidst the Confusion into which his Folly has brought the Affairs of the Commonwealth.*

CRATINUS, another Writer, in his Play, called *The Chirons*, speaking of Pericles, says, That TIME and FACTION had begot this monstrous Tyrant. In his Play, called *Nemesis*, he addresses himself to him, and cries in a bitter Sarcasm; *Deliver us out of our present Confusions, O thou that art blessed with a monstrous Head!*

THE same Author introduces him upon the Stage in his Play, called *The Thracian Women*, and makes another Person speak of him to this Effect; *Here comes our Jobber-headed Pericles: His ill-shaped Noddle is at present big with a Plan for his Musick-Room:*

*Room: Help * Lucina, that it may be safely, delivered of this notable Project, so much for the Service of the Commonwealth.*

ANOTHER Writer speaking of him, says, *All the Confusions we are at present in, are entirely owing to the over-grown Noddle of this prating empty Fellow Pericles.*

THE Reader, that he may take the full Force of these Jests, ought to be informed, that *Pericles* had an Head of an uncommon Shape, and bigger than most other Mens.

IN order to hide this *Deformity*, he made all his flattering Painters and Statuaries represent him with his Helmet on, in their *Pictures* and *Busts*. The *Athenian Wits* observing his ridiculous *Tenderness* in this Point, fell upon him the more unmercifully.

THEY called him Σχινοκέφαλος, or *Squill-Pate*; and in most of those Jests which they made

* *Lucina* was the Goddess to whom the Women in Child-bed addressed themselves for an easy and happy Delivery. The Form of invoking this Deity was usually in these Words; *Lucina fer opem! Help, O Lucina!*

made upon his Conduct and Politicks, and which are come down to us, there is some Allusion to his *great Head*, which they often observe had but *little* in it: In these Jests, in the *Greek*, there is what the *French* call a *Jeu de Mots*, an Allusion to the Word κεφαλὴ, or κάψη, *an Head*, which it is impossible to preserve in any Translation.

IT would be too tedious to mention all the bitter Things that were said of him by several *Athenian* Writers. The Comick Poets brought him upon the Stage in almost every Play; and made no Scruple to expose his ridiculous *Schemes* and *Politicks* in the Manner they deserved. *Hermippus*, in a Copy of Lyrick Verses, bitterly upbraids him for *Tying up the Hands of his Countrymen, and forcing them to sit still, while they were insulted and robbed by their Neighbours.* He addresses himself to the Pacifick Statesman after this Manner; *Why, O King of Satyrs, art thou afraid to unsheathe the Sword!*

* *Hermippus* called him the *King of Satyrs*, from his *Lust*: He is reported by the Help of his *Money*, and the *Virtuous Aspasia*, to have had some of the finest Women in *Athens*.

Sword! All thy Valour seems to lie in thy Tongue: To hear thee talk with so consummate an Assurance, and so much Intrepidity, a Man would imagine thou hadst as much Courage as * Teles himself, whilst, in Reality, thou tremblest at the Sight of a naked Sword: Thy mean Soul shudders at the Thoughts of War, though the Valiant † Cleon endeavours daily to rouze thee up, and is impatient to be in Arms, and to revenge the Wrongs of his injured Country.

PERICLES, however nettled, was forced to hear all these severe Truths; and though he had abolished the Power of the *Areopagites*, the most venerable Council and Tribunal in the World, though he had subverted the Athenian Constitution, and trampled upon their Liberties, he never durst proceed to the last Degree of Tyranny, and attempt the laying a Restraint upon their Pens. He was probably afraid they would never have endured to see themselves made such

* A Man famous for his personal Courage.

† This Cleon came at last to be General of the Athenians.

such absolute and compleat *Slaves* in the Eyes of all *Greece*; and therefore would not take from them this *Shadow* of their *ancient Liberty*, for fear of provoking them to the most *desperate* and *violent Measures*.

CLEON and *Alcibiades* were afterwards, in the Height of their Power, treated in the same free Manner by the *Athenian Wits* and *Writers*. Their Vices and ill Conduct, as they related to the *Publick*, were exposed on the *Publick Stage* by *Aristophanes*, and others.

IF your Majesty should infer from what I have said, that the *Athenians* were an unpolite ill-judging Audience, and that they encouraged the utmost Licentiousness in their Dramatick Writers; I beg leave to tell your Majesty two short Stories, which may possibly alter your Opinion.

AN *Athenian Poet*, drawing the Character of an avaricious and rapacious Man in one of his Plays, had made him say, that *He valued his Money more than his Country or his Friends*. The *Athenians* were so struck with

with Horror at this Sentiment, that to shew their Displeasure, the whole Audience immediately rose up, and resolved to leave the Theatre; when the Author of the Play, who was behind the Scenes, came out upon the Stage and told them, That *No Body could be more sensible than himself of the Vileness of that Sentiment, at which they had expressed their Dislike; and that he only entreated they would stay to see that Villain thoroughly punished, who was capable of uttering such a Sentence.* The Audience were prevailed upon by this handsome Apology to take their Seats again; and saw, with great Satisfaction, full *Poetical Justice* executed upon a Wretch who had broached such a Maxim, as, in the Opinion of this wise People, must be destructive to any Government.

I SHALL give one Instance more of the Taste and Judgment of an *Athenian Audience.*

AT the first Representation of one of *Æschilus's Plays*, the Theatre was so crowded, that an old Gentleman who came late,

could get no Place. He bustled about for some Time in Search of one, to no Purpose, till at last he came to the most conspicuous Part of the Theatre, where the *Lacedæmonian* Ambassadors sat. The *Spartans* always paid the utmost Respect to old Men: The Ambassadors therefore, as soon as ever they saw this venerable *Athenian* coming towards them, rose up, and seated him between them. The *Athenians*, though this Action seemed sufficiently to reflect upon their own Behaviour, gave their Approbation of it in such a Thunder of Applause, that the Actors upon the Stage were obliged to stop for several Minutes, before they could proceed in the Play.

If notwithstanding what I said, your Majesty, and some of my Readers, should think the *Athenians* in the Wrong, who, though they shewed their Dislike of any Thing upon the Stage, which was destructive to *Virtue* and *Liberty*, would sit with Pleasure to hear the *Blunders* and *Vices* of their Statesmen exposed; I only beg leave to add, that I do firmly believe there were as *Wise*, as *Great*, and as *Learned* Men at *Athens*, as any

any to be found at present, within the good Cities of *London* and *Westminster*.

HAVING shewn in what Manner the *Athenians* enjoyed the *Liberty of the * Press*; let us see upon what Foot it stood at *Rome*; and how far the *Romans* were allowed either to *speak or write* their real Sentiments of *Men and Things*.

THE great *Cato*, who, most People seem to think had pretty just Notions about *Freedom* and *Liberty*, wrote a most severe Satire in *Iambick Verse* against *Metellus Scipio*, upon the Account of a private Injury he received from him: We are told that *Cato's* Verses equalled even those of † *Archilochus*.

CICERO

* I hope I need not tell any learned Criticks, that I know when *Printing* was first invented, or used in *Europe*; notwithstanding which, I presume to call the Liberty of Men's speaking, writing, and publishing their Thoughts, *The Liberty of the Press*.

† *Archilochus* first invented this *Iambick Verse*, extremely proper for Satire; and with which he made *Lycambes* hang himself: From whence *Ovid*, when he threatens his Enemy *Ibis*, that he will write against him in *Iambicks*, says,

Tincta Lycambæo sanguine tela feram.

CICERO wrote an high Panegyrick upon *Cato*, under the Dictatorship of *Cæsar*: A Panegyrick upon *Cato*, was the severest Satire upon *Cæsar*, whose Measures *Cato* had constantly opposed. *Cæsar* took it in this Light: But though he was absolute Master of *Rome*, resented it no otherwise, than by writing a large and distinct Answer to it; which he began with telling his Readers, that He hoped they would not expect the same Accuracy of Stile from a Soldier, as from a Man who had made Eloquence his chief Study, and was so famous for excelling in it. This Apology was extreamly artful, though *Cæsar*, in Reality, had less Occasion to make use of it, than any one Man in all *Rome*.

ON the very Day of his Triumph, and as he was riding in State to the Capitol, his own Soldiers took the Liberty to sing under his Nose, *Romani, cavete uxores, mæchum calvum adducimus.* Romans, take care of your Wives; we bring you home the bald Adulterer. This was reproaching him, in the same Breath, with that Vice he was most

addicted to, and with a sort of *Deformity* which he carefully endeavoured to conceal. 'Tis well known, that he received no Honour the Senate decreed him with more Pleasure, than when they allowed him constantly to wear a Wreath of Laurel, which covered that *Baldness* his *Intense Thinking* had probably brought upon him, sooner than it usually came upon other Men.

AN Action of one of *Augustus's* Soldiers, is a Proof of that sturdy Liberty which the *Romans* kept up under every one of their Emperors, who was not a down-right *Tyrant*. *Augustus*, in one of his Camps, was terribly disturbed every Night by the Noise of a Screech-Owl, that flew about his Tent. He ordered it to be published, that if any of the Soldiers could catch this troublesome Creature, he should be handsomely rewarded. A dexterous Fellow found out a Way to take the Owl, and carried it to the Emperor's Pavilion. It seems, the Reward sent him was much less than he expected. The Fellow, without saying a Word, let his Owl loose again; and the Emperor was entertained at Night, with his usual Serenade.

renade. *Augustus* was so far from being angry at the Fellow's Bluntness, that he ordered him a good Sum of Money; and ever after, when he rewarded Mens Services, remembered he was Emperor of *Rome*.

SENECA wrote a very severe Satire against the Emperor *Claudius*, for having unjustly banished him.

ONE of the best and greatest of all the *Roman Emperors* * being informed, that a Satire was published against him, and persuaded to punish the Author; *By no means*, (says he:) *If what the Gentleman has wrote is false and groundless, it will do me no harm; if it be true, I shall know how to amend my Errors by it.*

IN the latter Times of the *Roman Empire*, when Christianity got Ground, the *Liberty of the Press* was carried to a greater Height than ever; An indiscreet Zeal for Religion, made some Men of weak Heads abuse their Emperors in the most gross and scurrilous Terms, without either Wit, Truth, or Decency. [M 2] ST.

* *Marcus Antoninus.*

St. Hilary, of Poictiers, wrote against the Emperor Constantius, in such Language, as many a Porter would scorn to make use of.

GREGORY Nazianzen treats the Emperor Julian in the same Manner. It appears from the best Authorities, that Julian was guilty of no notorious Crime, besides his quitting the Christian Religion, which he never sincerely profess'd. This Emperor had vast natural Parts ; was learned, valiant, generous and temperate ; had an unwearied Application to Business, an absolute Command over his Passions, a comely Person, and something extreamly noble in his Air and Behaviour. Gregory wrote two Invectives against him, (which Canæus says, he published in the Emperor's Life Time,) and in which he endeavours to paint his Prince as a Monster, both in *Body* and *Mind*. The good Man could not say his Emperor was either hump-back'd, or crook-legg'd, but he made a shift to find out that Julian was ever moving his Head, that his Eyes were wandering, his Looks furious, and the Air of his Face full of Insolence : From which Marks

Gregory

Gregory says, that *As soon as ever he saw him,* (they studied together at *Athens,*) *he was sure he was the vilest of Men, and would never come to any Good.* He then uses his utmost Skill to expose and ridicule all his Prince's *Speeches* and *Writings,* (which by-the-by, most Men of Taste have since admired;) and in a Word, sticks at no sort of Scurrility. The Emperor made no Reply to an infinite Number of Abuses of this Kind, (which he met with almost daily from some other zealous Christians, as well as from *Gregory,*) but with his own excellent *Pen,* and by a *mild and steady Government.* His great Soul scorned to have Recourse to Cruelty or Violence; and by his acting in this Manner, he has given a most convincing Proof, how unjustly he was charged with every Fault, except his Apostacy. How far he was guilty on that Head, whether he acted upon worldly Motives, or really followed the Direction of his *Reason,* is what none but that supreme Being who knows all Things, and his own Conscience, could fully determine. It is, I think, allowed by the greatest Divines of all Persuasions, that *A Man is obliged to follow the Dictates, even of an erroneous Conscience.*

I SHALL only observe, that the Behaviour of a *weak* and a *guilty* Prince, is most commonly extreamly different from the Emperor Julian's. When *Luther* fell so smartly upon that *silly* Book which *Harry* the Eighth wrote against him, and when Cardinal *Pool* soon after exposed the *Cruelties, Rapine, and Injustice* of this wicked King, in their *true Colours*, I am of Opinion, that either of these two Authors, would have passed his Time but very indifferently, if our *English Tyrant* could have laid his Hands upon him.

THOUGH I have shewn in what Manner the *Roman Emperors* were actually treated, I am far from justifying such Behaviour in Subjects towards their Prince. The *Name and Person* of a Prince ought to be regarded as Things *sacred* by all his Subjects. A King is of no *Party*. He is the *common Father* of all his People: It is his Duty, *Parcere Subjectis, & Debellare Superbos*. I am very well pleased with the Maxim in our *English Law*, That *The King himself can do no wrong*; but should this Rule be extended

tended to his *Ministers*, we might prate about *Freedom*, and brag of our *Liberties*; but there would not be in all *Europe*, a Nation of more *abject* and *ridiculous Slaves*.

IT must be confessed, that the Emperor *Julian* shewed an uncommon Greatness of Mind, in pardoning the continued Insolence and Scurrilities of those Enthusiasts, who, perhaps, were in themselves honest and good Men, and might fancy they were serving *God*, while they were abusing their *Prince*. It is probable the Emperor looked upon their Proceedings with a generous Pity and Contempt, imagining very justly, that such outragious Railings, could do his Character no Injury with Men of Sense and Judgment. And here it cannot be improper to observe, that any Author who in his Writings has no manner of Regard to *Truth*, and breaks through the established Rules of *Decency* and *good Manners*, will do himself much more harm than the Person, or Persons, he writes against. A Reader must be extreamly dull, who is not able to distinguish *Truth* from *Passion*, and *Reason* from *Resentment*.

I HAVE already declared my Opinion, that the *Names* and *Persons* of Kings ought to be looked upon as Things *sacred* by all their Subjects: Yet even Princes themselves would do well to remember, that this profound *Respect* and *Veneration*, which is paid to their *Persons* by all understanding Men, neither *can* nor *will* subsist after they are dead. It would be abolishing all History at once, if the Characters and Actions of Princes, after their Decease, were not to be fairly examined, and faithfully related. Even those of their own Family, if they are Persons of good Sense, cannot take this Liberty amiss in a Writer. Our late excellent Queen *Mary* gave a remarkable Instance of what I am saying.

THAT admirable Princeſ, was one Day asking a learned Prelate, *If he knew why King James, her Father, was so highly enraged against Monsieur Jurieu?* The Bishop replied, That *He conceived it was for some Stories which Monsieur Jurieu had inserted in his Writings about Mary Queen of Scots,* and which cast an high Reflection upon all

who were descended from her. The Queen immediately replied, *It is Monsieur Jurieu's Business to support the Cause he has undertaken, and to expose those that persecuted it : If what he says of Mary Queen of Scots is really true, Monsieur Jurieu is not to be blamed for making as much use of it as he can.* She immediately added, *If Princes will do ill Things, the World will take Revenge of their Memory, if they cannot reach their Persons : This is the least they must expect for their Inhumanity, and for making such Multitudes of People miserable while they live.*

WHAT this excellent Queen observed does indeed always happen: Suetonius wrote the Lives of the *Roman Emperors*, with the same Freedom they led them. Our James the First lived surrounded with Sycophants, and a Set of worthless Creatures ; and we now see with what *Contempt* and *Indignation*, every Man of Sense or Reading mentions his *Name*. His murdering Sir Walter Rawleigh, (as great and universal a Genius, as not only *England*, but perhaps any other Nation ever produced) is justly looked upon as such a Complication of *Baseness* and

and *Cruelty*, as can hardly be parallel'd. It were, indeed, to be wished, that the Murder of this great Man (no less a Scandal to *England*, than that of *Socrates* to *Athens*) could be blotted out of the *British History*. It were to be wished his *Trial* was not still extant, which no body can peruse without Horror; and at which *Coke*, that *Oracle of the Law*, as some Men call him, gave the clearest Demonstration of his being a most *abandoned Prostitute*.

FROM what has been observed, it is very certain, that nothing could make Princes a sufficient Amends for that Severity with which they are sure to have their Actions canvassed after their Death, but the having it every Day in their Power, while they live, to do such Actions as would render their Memories truly glorious and immortal.

I HAVE already taken notice, in my *Introduction*, that the *Chinese* are allow'd to excel all other People in the Art of Government. In *China* the Emperor is absolute: There are only two Things he is obliged to submit to, and which the *Chinese* think, if he

he has the least grain of Virtue, Honour, or Generosity, will be a sufficient Check upon all his Actions. He is sure to hear of his *Faults* while he is alive, and to have them recorded in History after his Death.

I HAVE observed, that in *China* no Man is a *Gentleman* by his *Birth*, but that the Mandarines, or Gentlemen, become such by their own *Parts* and *Learning*. These Mandarines, by a fundamental Law of the *Chinese Empire*, are allowed to tell the Emperor, in respectful, yet in plain Terms, whatever they think is amiss in his Conduct; and we are assured, that whenever they think the *Honour* of their *Prince*, or the *Good* of their *Country*, makes it necessary, they never fail to make use of their Privilege. There was a remarkable Instance of this, in the Reign of one of their Emperors, who was a proud and obstinate Man. This Emperor's Conduct, in a certain Particular, was directly contrary to the Precepts of the great *Confucius*. One of the wisest and most learned of the Mandarines hereupon demanded an Audience; and having told his Prince what he conceived was wrong in his Conduct, he shewed him,

him, with great strength of Reason, the ill Consequences which would probably attend it. The Emperor, who was not of an Humour to think he could be in the Wrong, instead of reforming his own Conduct, ordered the Mandarine to be put to Death for his Insolence. The next Day another Mandarine demanded an Audience ; he made the same Remonstrances his Predecessor had done, and met with the same Fate. Upon the third Day a third Mandarine went to the Emperor : To shew that he expected to die, but that he willingly devoted himself for the *good of his Country*, he ordered his Herse to follow him in Mourning, and to wait at the Palace-Gate. He then went boldly up to the Emperor and told him, that *If he did not immediately reform his Conduct, his Reign would appear the most shameful to future Ages, of any yet recorded in the Chronicles of China.* The Emperor incensed at this Behaviour, not only put him to Death, but ordered him to expire under the most exquisite Tortures.

THE Mandarines upon this assembled in a Body : They came to a generous Resolution,

Resolution, that whatever was the Consequence, they would not see their Prince persist in a Conduct which would be a *Disgrace* to himself, and was contrary to the *Maxims* and *Policy* of their Government. They determined by Lot, what Members of their Body should go next, and wait upon the Emperor. Every Man as the Lot fell upon him readily went, and did his Duty. A great Number of them were put to Death; but at last, the Emperor's Obstinacy was overcome. He not only reformed his Conduct, but ordered most magnificent Monuments, at a vast Expence, to be built over the Bodies of those Mandarines whom he had put to Death. 'Tis true, he honoured their Memories; but all the Power he was possessed of could not restore Life to those *faithful Subjects*, who had given so plain a Proof, that they preferred his *Honour*, and the *Good of their Country*, to every other Consideration.

THE Behaviour of the Mandarines upon this Occasion was exactly conformable to the Precepts and Practice of the great *Confucius* himself; who never failed, as Opportunity offered,

ferred, to tell Princes his *real* and *true Sentiments* of their Conduct and Government ; of which I will give one Instance.

WE are told, that when *Confucius* was a young Man, he was so severely persecuted by some ill People in Power, that he was obliged to leave his own Country. He came at last to the Court of a Prince, who was generally looked upon to be a *Man of great Capacity*. *Confucius* was received with open Arms: The King laid before this great Statesman the whole Plan of his Government; not, perhaps, so much with a real Design to ask the Advice of *Confucius*, as to please his own Vanity, by having the Approbation of so wise and learned a Politician. Among other Things, he one Day took *Confucius* with him to Council, where a Point of Consequence was to be determined. The King opened the Debate himself, with great Eloquence. He stated the Question in a full and clear Light. Having mentioned the Conveniences and the Inconveniences which he apprehended were likely to arise by their determining of it either Way, he at last gave his own Judgment upon the Whole. He enforc'd it with seve-

ral Reasons; and concluded with desiring every Member of his Privy Council to speak their Opinions with the *utmost Freedom* upon this important Occasion.

WHEN the King had done speaking, several Members of the Council rose up in their Turns, and made many grave and learned Speeches; in some of which they strengthen'd his Majesty's Opinion, by several Reasons which had not occurred to himself; so that the Affair was settled with the unanimous Approbation of the whole Board. When this venerable Assembly was broke up, the King, taking *Confucius* into his Closet, conjured him to tell him how he liked his Method of debating Affairs of Consequence in Council. *Sir*, says *Confucius*, *I cannot well judge of that, because I have not yet been at a Council.* The King pressed him to tell what he meant, by talking in that Manner. *I have heard your Majesty*, says *Confucius*, *shew a great deal of Wit and Eloquence; but you are very little acquainted with Mankind, if you can imagine that your Courtiers will not rather chuse to speak what they know is agreeable to you, than what they really think.*

If

If your Majesty would have known the true Sentiments of your Council, you ought to have concealed your own. He then shewed the King that the Resolution he had just before taken was wrong, and extreamly prejudicial to the Good of his Kingdom. He went still farther; He demonstrated to him, that several of his great Officers could have informed him of several *Matters of Fact*, which they chose to say nothing of, after his Majesty had given his Opinion. The King, though his *Vanity* was not a little mortified by this Discourse, yet, as he was really a Man of a fine *Understanding*, and had no other Fault but *Vanity*, entertain'd an high Esteem for *Confucius*. He now not only asked his Advice upon all Occasions, but followed it too in good Earnest; and, we are assured, rendered his Kingdom in a short Time the *Envoy* and *Dread* of all the neighbouring States.

THE Chinese Emperors have still another Check upon their Actions; which is looked upon to be of the *strongest Kind*, if they have but the least Sense of *Honour* or *Reputation*. Thirty Mandarines are appointed to keep an exact and daily Account of all the Emperor's Actions.

Actions. Each of these Mandarines has a constant Access to the Palace, and sets down not only the Actions, but the very Words of the Emperor, with his own Reflections upon them, in loose Pieces of Paper, which he thrusts almost every Day through a small Crevice, into a large Iron Chest, which has thirty different Locks, and is set aside for that Purpose. This Chest is never opened during the Reign of that Emperor whose Life it contains, nor while any of his Family sit upon the Throne of *China*. When the Crown passes into another Family the Chest is opened, and all these private Memoirs, wrote by Men who did not communicate their Thoughts to one another, are delivered into the Hands of some Mandarine who is remarkable for a solid Judgment and a fine Stile. The Mandarine from these several Memoirs writes the Life of the deceased Emperor, *commends* or *censures* his Actions with the *utmost Freedom*; and his *Life* thus wrote, is added to the *Chronicles of China*. The *Chinese* have not the least Notion of *hereditary Right*. If the Emperor has several Sons, and finds the youngest of them all to have the *best Capacity*, he adopts him for

his Successor; and we are assured, that his elder Brothers, who live like private Gentlemen, were never known to rebel against him. If an Emperor of *China* has no Son of a Capacity fit to govern so vast an Empire, he makes Choice of some other Person to succeed him; from a firm Belief, that he cannot do his own Children a greater Kindness, than to prevent their appearing in that high Station, which must render their *Defects* visible to all the World; and that he should be guilty of a Crime, the *Supreme God*, the Almighty *Cham Ti* would never forgive, if he permitted so many Millions of People to be made miserable by the *Weakness* and *Incapacity* of one Man. By this Means the Empire of *China* has seldom continued long in the same Family; and this Principle of the *Chinese* Emperors, is, perhaps, at least equal to any Thing we find among the greatest Patriots of *Greece* or *Rome*.

THE Lives of the *Chinese* Emperors being composed from a great Number of Facts set down Day by Day, in the Order they happened, with Reflections upon each Fact, run pretty much after this Manner.

— On

— On this Day, the Emperor concluded a Treaty with the King of Niuche; by Virtue of which, the Province of China, which Borders upon that Prince's Dominions, will enjoy for the future a constant and most advantageous Trade.

— This Day he gave Audience to several Ambassadors. To the Proposal made him by the Ambassadors from the Kingdom of Tonquin, he returned an Answer every way agreeable to his own Dignity, and which shewed he was perfectly a Master of this whole Affair; but when the Ambassador from the Emperor of Muscovy was admitted, who was sent to excuse some Actions which had lately happened on the Banks of the River Yamour, the Northern Boundary of the Empire of China, our Emperor's Passion and Resentment got the better of his Reason. He said several improper Things, and gave a great deal of Pain to all his faithful Mandarines who were then present. Nothing can be said in Excuse of his Behaviour, but that he conceived his Subjects had been injured in their Properties,

and were in some Danger of losing those two valuable Branches of their TRADE, their PEARL-FISHING, and SABLE-HUNTING *.

— This Day the Emperor published a most excellent Law, to regulate the Proceedings in several Courts of Justice; and to provide, that the Assessors of his Revenue might observe the utmost Impartiality, with regard to all his † Subjects. This Law rendered him extreamly dear to his People.

— This

* There were formerly some Disputes between the Emperor of *China* and the *Czar* of *Muscovy* upon this Affair; but upon a Treaty, the *Czar* agreed to demolish all his Forts upon the River *Tamour*; to yield up to the *Chinese* the Right of *Pearl-fishing*, and *Sable-hunting* in the adjacent Country; that the River *Argun* should be esteemed for the future the Boundary of the *Chinese* Empire, and the Town of *Argun*, the utmost Limits of his own Dominions on that Side.

† Every Subject in *China* has an Estate of Inheritance in his Lands, and does not hold them of any Superior Lord. The Emperor may levy what Taxes he thinks fit, to supply the Necessities of the Government; yet there is an ordinary Tax which is seldom exceeded, and does not amount to above a Tenth Part of the Profits of Mens Estates. The Emperor's yearly Revenue is computed to be about Twenty-two Millions English Money; a very small Sum, if we consider the Extent and Riches of this vast Empire: But the Emperor every Year exempts some Provinces from paying

— This Day, and the Five following Days, the Emperor spent wholly among his Women : In all this Time he did not do one great or generous Action. When he appeared again in Publick, one of his Mandarines took the Liberty to represent to him, That though his private Pleasures were very proper to unbend and refresh his Mind, after the Fatigue of Business, yet if he spent so much Time upon them, his own Reputation must suffer as well as all those People, whose Happiness depended upon his Application to the Duties of his high Post. That a great Number of Petitions from his Subjects lay before him, which, by the Constitution of the Empire, he was obliged to read *. The Em-

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peror

paying any Taxes at all. A Chinese, who has any Estate, knows what he is to pay, and is obliged under severe Penalties, to send or carry in the Emperor's Duties, without being called upon, to the Treasurer of the Province ; so that all the Expence of Collectors, Receivers, and a vast Number of other Officers, employed about the Royal Revenue in most European Nations, is entirely saved.

* We are assured by the Missionaries, that Petitions are daily presented to the Emperor of China; and that by the Constitution of the Empire, he is obliged to read them ; so that he is the *busiest*, as well as the greatest Man, in all his Dominions.

peror was so struck with this Remonstrance, that he made a Vow, which he punctually kept, not to see one of his Favourite Mistresses again, 'till he had read, and done Justice, upon every Petition that lay before him.

— This Day the Emperor spent in a select Company of his most Learned Mandarines : Their whole Conversation ran upon the Present State of the Empire, and the Political Writings of Confucius ; the Emperor shewed himself a perfect Master of those Writings ; and from something which was started at this Conversation, a Resolution was formed, which proved of infinite Advantage to the whole Empire of China.

— This Day the Bell that demands Justice, was rung out by a Tradesman in the City. The Man, according to Custom, was immediately sent for to the Palace, and had a private Audience of the Emperor. It appeared the next Day, that this poor Tradesman had made his Complaint against Ly-cungz, one of the greatest Mandarines in the Empire, for an horrid Piece of Injustice

justice and Oppression. Lycungz, who was immensely rich, and whose Conscience accused him, ran directly to two Persons, who he suspected would be called upon as Evidences, and gave each of them a vast Bribe: Besides this, the poor Tradesman, who had never before spoke to an Emperor, told his Story very awkwardly; but the Emperor, with an admirable Sagacity, took a Method, which soon let him into the Truth of the whole Affair. The Tradesman had a most ample Recompence for the Injuries he had sustained, and the Mandarine was punished in the Manner he deserved.

For the better understanding this *last Article*, it may be proper I should acquaint your Majesty, that in the Capital City of *China*, there is a *Bell* * hung in an open Place; and if the meanest Subject in the Empire conceives himself injured by a Man too great for him to contend with in the common Courts of Justice, he may at any Time go

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and

* The Bells in *China* are of a Size which is hardly credible: Their Figure is almost a *Cylinder*; and we are assured, by some who have measured them, that there are at

and ring this Bell, or cause it to be rung; upon which he is immediately conducted by Officers, appointed for that Purpose, to the *Emperor himself*, to whom he tells his *Case*, and makes his *Complaint*.

I have shewn how far the *Liberty of the Press* was indulged among the *Athenians* and *Romans*, and that it is at this Day a most essential Part of the Constitution of *China*, and made use of as the most certain Check upon the Actions of the greatest Monarch in the World. How far the Emperors of *China* indulge it themselves, we may learn from hence, *viz.* That the reverend Fathers, the Missionaries, who are sent into *China* from *Rome* and *France* to propagate the Gospel, have full Leave given them to print and publish whatever Books they conceive most likely to make *Converts*; though all such Books

at *Pekin* seven Bells, which were cast about three hundred Years since, and weigh one hundred and twenty thousand Pounds each. They are eleven Foot wide, forty Foot round, and twelve Foot high, besides the Ear, which is at least three Foot high; so that each of these Bells is above twice as heavy as that at *Erfurt*, which *Kircher* affirms to be the biggest in the World. - The *Chinese* had *Bells*, and the *Use of the Compass*, as well as *Printing* and *Gun-Powder*, long before the *Europeans*.

Books are in direct Opposition to the Religion which has been professed in *China* for some thousands of Years. It is almost incredible to conceive what Pains the Missionaries have taken to make themselves Masters of the *Chinese* Language and Learning, since they have obtained so generous a Permission to exert all their Talents, and do their best. What Success they have met with is not so certain: Their own Relations have been a little suspected, and we have had different Accounts of this Affair. Some say that the Missionaries have really made a great Number of Proselytes to Christianity: Others assert, That the Fathers have met their Converts half Way; and that they themselves in *China* profess a mixed Sort of Religion, partly *Christian*, and partly *Chinese*. This Charge against them has made some Noise, and passed under an Examination at * *Rome*.

It

* This Affair gave Occasion to that famous Decree of the Pope's, which was published in the Year 1707. by Cardinal *De Tournon*, his Holiness's Vicar in *China*, and by which I think it appears, that the reverend Fathers, the Jesuits, had been pretty complaisant to their *Chinese* Converts; notwithstanding which, I cannot find that any of the *Mandarines* were in the Number of their Proselytes.

It is certain that the Emperors of *China*, who, as it has been observed, are Men of great Abilities and Learning, have condescended to hear with Candour and Patience whatever the reverend Fathers thought proper to urge in Favour of Christianity ; and that, though they have not been converted, they have given the most generous Marks of their Esteem for the *personal Accomplishments* and *good Qualities* of these learned Men.* They have caused themselves to be instructed by them very exactly, and with a great deal of Pleasure in the Science of Astronomy ; in several Parts of which, by the Help of some late Discoveries, the *Europeans* excel the *Chinese*.

LET us now see upon what Foot the *Liberty of the Press* has stood in *England*. I am sorry I must say, that we shall find the most execrable Cruelties and Murders have been committed in some Reigns, for Books that have been *interpreted* into *Libels* against the

* Father Adam, Verbiest, and Garbillon, Gentlemen of *good Sense* and *great Learning*, were mighty Favourites at the Court of *China*.

the *Church*, or *Libels* against the *State*, and sometimes even for Words spoke in private Conversation, or for professing some particular Tenet or Opinion. Barbarities of this Kind may possibly seem agreeable enough to the Spirit of Popery, and the Doctrine of the Inquisition; but we must own with Shame and Confusion, that as soon as the Protestants got into Power, they began to exercise those very Cruelties they had so loudly exclaimed against in the Roman Catholics. While we are reading the Account of *Cranmer's Execution*, our Pity towards him is a little abated, when we reflect, that he himself, but a few Years before, had murdered a poor innocent silly *Woman*, and a Foreigner who was remarkably *honest* and *devout*. The Archbishop caused these two unhappy Persons to be burnt alive in *Smithfield*. There are many still living, who remember when some of the noblest Blood in *England* was shed, for only writing a *speculative* Discourse upon Government. It is true, that after the Revolution, this Fact, committed with the utmost *Solemnity*, and under the *Mask* of *publick Justice*, was called by its *true* Name, and declared to be

an * execrable *Murder*, in which every Body observed that the *Judge* had acted a much more infamous Part than the *Hangman*. At length an honest and necessary Petition, presented to a King of *England* by seven Bishops, who deserved that Title, came to be called a *Libel*; and the Nation saw with Horror, that some Persons, who were obliged by a solemn Oath to defend the *Liberties of the People*, were very ready to have interpreted it into one. The Press was now restrained, and two or three wicked Ministers were firmly resolved, that their *ill-advised King*, and the *wretched Nation*, should read nothing in Print, but weekly Panegyricks upon themselves and their Proceedings. So bare-faced a *Tyranny* made some of the coolest and best Heads in *England* come into the *Revolution*, and concur in dethroning a Prince, to whom themselves or their Families had great Obligations, and who, it must be confessed, had some good *Qualities*, which (if he had not been put upon these *cruel* and *arbitrary* Proceedings) seemed designed by Providence to have made his Reign glorious, and this Island *great* and

* *Algernon Sidney's Attainder was reversed after the Revolution.*

and *happy*. But these were all effaced by his using us like *Slaves*; and many of his Subjects of the best Sense, and the greatest Capacities, conspired against him, though they could not but foresee many Inconveniences that must happen from their calling in a Foreign Prince and what a *sea of Blood*, and *immense Treasures*, it would probably cost their unhappy Country, to *support* that *Revolution* they were then aiming at. Upon the Revolution, the *Restraint upon the Press* was taken off; but the *Liberty of the Press* was not provided for, in so effectual a Manner, as most People expected. I take the Reason to have been this: Our Deliverer, King *William*, had some Persons about him, who were endeavouring to raise vast Fortunes at the Expence of this unhappy Nation. The *Liberty of the Press* is the most unlucky Scourge that hangs over the Heads of such People: It is not their Interest to have the *Publick* put upon observing their *Conduct*; and they are constantly afraid, that the King their Master may come to know such *Truths* from the Press, as few Courtiers would have either the *Honesty*, or the *Courage* to tell him. I take this to have been the true Reason, why the *Liberty of the*

the Press was not put upon so *open* and *generous* a Foot after the Revolution, as most Men thought it would have been, in a Nation that talked so much of *Freedom*, and which had just taken so *terrible* a *Leap*, in order to preserve it. But though many wise Men think some sort of Proceedings still smell too strongly of the *Star-Chamber*, though there have been some Cases since the Revolution, which have made most thinking People shake their Heads; it must be confessed, that there have not been so many Murders and Robberies committed, under the Mask of Justice, as there were before: It must be allowed, that our Judges have not been so very ready to *strain* and *misinterpret* the *Law*, that they might reach the *Life* or *Estate* of any Man, whom a corrupt and wicked Minister should happen to frown upon.

It is one of *Theophrastus's* Sayings, which is left upon Record; That *it is but a short-lived Falsehood, which is raised by Envy and Defamation*. I must own, I have ever thought, with some of the best and greatest Men, that any *Libel*, or Report, which is really

really *false* and *groundless*, must turn to the Advantage of that Person it was designed to hurt, and to the Confusion of his Enemies, if he is but fairly permitted to defend himself. In the Law we frequently put fictitious Cases : I shall beg leave to illustrate the Position I have laid down, by supposing two very strong Cases ; one, in relation to a *private Man* ; and the other, to a *first Minister* ; though perhaps neither of these Cases ever did, or ever may happen.

SUPPOSE a private Gentleman should have something to say to his King, or his Queen, which he conceived it was of the utmost Consequence they should know ; suppose that at last, after a long, a most expensive, and a most humble Application, he should have the strongest Reasons to believe, that what he had to say would be graciously heard ; though a certain Courtier (for *Reasons* best known to *himself*) had used an hundred Tricks to prevent it. Suppose this same Courtier, when he saw all his little Arts defeated, should at last have the *consummate Assurance*, upon the very Day, this Gentleman expected his Audience, to raise a

Report,

Report, that the *poor Gentleman* was a *Lunatick*; and should cause this to be asserted by his Tools, with so much *Confidence*, and seeming *Pity* for the unhappy Gentleman, at all the Publick Tables at Court, in several Assemblies, and last of all in Print, that most People at length should firmly believe the Fact: It must be owned in this Case, that the poor Man would be in a deplorable Condition, especially, if his private Fortune had been before torn in Pieces in an *extraordinary* Manner, and he had now little to subsist upon, besides a *Profession*, where few People choose to employ a *Madman*. There is no doubt, but as our Law stands, such an unhappy Man might fill *Westminster-Hall* with Actions against the *Tools* of the Courtier; and yet, if he consulted me, I should not advise him to apply to that most laudable Part of our Constitution the *Crown-Office*: I should only counsel him to appear in Publick a little more than he used to do, and to depend upon it, that, as bad as the World is, Mankind would soon look both upon the *Courtier* and *himself* in a *proper* Light.

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My next Case shall relate to a first Minister: Suppose in any *European* Nation, a Man of great *Integrity* and *Abilities*, who had travelled into other Kingdoms, made many excellent *Observations* upon their *Government* and *Trade*, and was a perfect *Master* of several *Languages*; I say, suppose such a Man, for the Honour of his Prince, and as a Blessing to his Country, should be placed in the Post of *First Minister*; that as he was a perfect Judge of *Men*, and his own *Genius* was *universal*, he should be content to take the Trouble of finding out proper Persons for all Preferments, and of managing all Affairs, both Foreign and Domestick: I will suppose, that this accomplished Minister had made several Treaties highly to the Honour of his *King*; and by virtue of which, *Trade* and *Commerce* were put upon such a Foot, that his *Country* was in a fair Way of acquiring a great Part of the Wealth of the World: It is not impossible but *Envy* and *Impudence* might attack such a Minister; that some malicious People might pretend the Treaties he had made, were neither an Honour to his *Prince* or *Country*; that some

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impudent

impudent Wretches might assert, he neither understood Foreign Affairs, nor ever could, because he was unable to converse with Foreigners ; and that he was so far from being a *Master of Languages*, that he could not even speak *French*. This last Insinuation would be extreamly Malicious ; since *French* is a Language most *Gentlemen* speak, in which the great Affairs of *Europe* are carried on ; and since any body may guess, what sorry Stuff *Conversation* must be, when 'tis managed by an *Interpreter* : Yet should a great and an accomplished Minister be thus wickedly defamed by *Envy* and *Impudence*, I do strongly affirm, that he need have no manner of Recourse to *Prosecutions*, *Informations*, and *Acts of Power* : His *Treaties* would speak for themselves. While a *trading Nation* felt the Wealth of *Europe* daily flowing in upon them, with what Abhorrence and Detestation would all his Slanderers be looked upon ! As to the last Piece of *Scandal*, his *Want of Languages* ; if I was of his Privy-Council, he should take no other Notice of it, than by making an Entertainment for Foreign Ministers ; at which, when he had talked with great *Fluency* to every Man in his own Tongue,

Tongue, I durst pawn my Life upon it, all his Enemies would be sufficiently confounded.

I CANNOT indeed help thinking, that a First Minister, or Man in great Power, must not only have the worst of Causes, but must want common Policy before he is reduced to have Recourse to *violent Methods*: In Disputes relating to his Conduct, he has very often all the Evidence in his own Hands, and can at least have Recourse to Authentick Papers, much easier than his Adversaries. It is in his Power, by a *noble* and *generous* Behaviour, either entirely to gain Men of Parts on his Side, or to make it scarce possible for them to be his inveterate Enemies. This is the Method which *Julius Cæsar* took with *Catullus*; *Charles the Fifth* with *Aretine*, and *Cardinal Mazarine* with *Quillet*. The late Earl of *Oxford* acted in the same Manner; and if some Men, who had fine Pens, had not had the utmost Zeal for the House of *Hanover*, and been really afraid his Lordship was bringing in the *Pretender*, they could never have opposed the Measures of a Minister, who shewed so great a Regard for every

Man of a distinguished Capacity. In what Manner he lived with those two great Genius's and most able Men, Dr. *Swift* and Mr. *Prior*, the World well knows. It is true, these Gentlemen helped to support his Measures ; but I could give three such Instances, which all fell within my own Knowledge, of a most noble and uncommon Generosity in his Behaviour towards Mr. *Addison*, Sir *Richard Steel*, and Mr. *Congreve*, (Men who differed with him in Opinion, and always opposed his Measures,) as would infinitely surprise all People, who never yet heard those Stories. This Minister was represented, every Week when he was Lord High-Treasurer of *Great Britain*, under the Character of a *Mountebank*, or *Quack Doctor*, who sold the People *Poison* for *Physick*; and yet I never heard that he brought one single *Information* against the Printer or Author of those Papers. His Lordship answered *Wit* with *Wit*, and *Argument* with *Argument*; and often in so strong a Manner, that, to my certain Knowledge, those Gentlemen who endeavoured to decry his Measures, were a good deal gravelled upon some Heads.

The late Earl of
Oxford

Oxford is now no more: His great Qualities (and surely he had some) are no longer terrible to his Enemies. His Failings (what Man is without them!) give no Uneasiness to his Friends; but let the Learned World for ever mention a Man with all the Advantage consistent with *Truth*, who had so great a Share of Learning himself, and was so noble a Patron of it in other Persons

Truth and *Justice* force me to say thus much of a Man, whose Measures, when he was in Power, I constantly opposed with those little Talents Heaven has bestowed upon me; and from whom I never received the least *Favour*. Should I dare to assert he never offered me any, I should basely belye him, and might be contradicted by a Gentleman now living.

HAVING mentioned this great Man, I shall, with your Majesty's Permission, take a little Notice of his *Politicks*; because they have so near a Relation to the Times we live in. I must own, that, during his Administration, I was made firmly to believe he was bringing in the *Pretender*: I have at present some Re-

sions to be, at least, very *doubtful* upon that Head. I ever was, and still am of Opinion, that it was not impossible for him to have made a better *Peace* than he did; yet surely all Men must allow, that the *Demolition of Dunkirk*, and the *Acquisition of Gibraltar*, were two Points of infinite Advantage to *Great Britain*. I am sorry to say I have lived to see the Time, in which they have been thought too advantageous for us to enjoy quietly, not only by our *Enemies*, but even by our *pretended Friends*. After the Death of the late Emperor, it would have been *Madness* for us to have endeavoured any longer to place the Crown of *Spain* upon the Head of his present Imperial Majesty: If this Prince is dreadful now, what would he have been with the *Indies* in his Possession? His own great Talents, back'd by a most able Ministry, might have made a more successful Push for Universal Monarchy than his Predecessor * *Charles V.* Upon the Treaty of *Utrecht*, my Lord *Oxford's* Enemies

* *Charles V.* was both *Emperor* and *King of Spain*; and every Body knows how much Blood his aiming at *Universal Monarchy* cost *Europe*.

nies seemed to fear, that King *Philip's* Renunciation of his Right to the Crown of *France* was not sufficient : The late Lord *Oxford* openly declared, that he did not rely himself upon *Philip's* Renunciation, but that such Accidents must probably happen, as would create a *Misunderstanding* between *France* and *Spain*, and render it impossible for the two Crowns of those Kingdoms to fall upon one Head ; or, in other Words, that *The Treaty of Utrecht would execute itself*. I remember the Whigs all laughed at this Position ; and, I must confess, I was in the Number of those who thought it a very extraordinary one : Yet let us see what has really happened. The late Duke of *Orleans*, when Regent of *France*, found himself so strongly opposed by the *Spanish Faction*, that he was obliged to court the *Alliance* (I had almost said the *Protection*) of *Great Britain*. He was, perhaps, altering his Measures a little before he died ; but Providence having taken him away at a most fortunate Time for this Island, the Breach between the *French* and *Spanish* Courts grew wider than ever. The Infanta, though she had been so formally contracted to the *French* King,

though she had been received with so much Solemnity, and entertained so long in *France*, was now sent back into her own Country, to get a new Husband where she could find one. We are assured by our Political Writers of all Sides, that the Queen of *Spain* does not want Spirit, and has the utmost Influence upon the Councils of that Kingdom. The sending back her Daughter affected her in the most tender Points, as a *Woman*, a *Mother*, and a *Queen*. She is allow'd to have resented it accordingly ; nay, what is more, the whole *Spanish* Nation, jealous of the Honour of their King, resented the Affront which they conceived was put upon his Family. *Spain* therefore at this Time looked out for a *new Ally*; for some *friendly State* who might *protect* her against *France*, if there should be Occasion for it ; or assist her, at a *proper Season*, to *revenge* the Affront she imagined she had received. In this Juncture she cast her Eyes upon *England*, and would gladly have flung herself into our Arms. The Author of the Famous *Enquiry* (a Book allowed to be wrote by the *Direction*, and with the *Affistance* of the *Ministry*) ingenuously owns, that *Spain* at this Time offered us the

Medi-

Mediation, and intreated us to become *Vmpires* between *herself* and *France*. Here then, in the Opinion of some, was that *great*, that *happy Crisis*, in which *England* might justly have cry'd out,

— *Quod optanti Divum • promittere
nemo
Auderet, volvenda dies, en ! attulit ultro.*

Some Men are humbly of Opinion, that if we had acted in this *great Crisis*, as it is probable enough Queen *Elizabeth* would have done; if we had sent a dexterous Minister to the *French* and *Spanish* Courts, who might at least have kept *open*, if not a little *widened* the Breach betwen the two Crowns, while at the same Time, in the Quality of *Mediators*, we had favoured *Spain*; I say, some People are humbly of Opinion, that had *Great Britain* acted thus, she must at this Time have been the real *favourite Nation* with *Spain*, have had all imaginable Indulgence in her *Trade to the Indies*, have been in Possession of the most *valuable Commerce* in the World, and, properly speaking, have held the *Ballance of Europe*.

O for-

*O fortunati nimium, sua si bona nōrint,
Angligenæ! —*

I COULD never yet hear any Reason given for our not accepting the *Mediation* offered us by *Spain*, but that it would not have been agreeable to some Engagements we were under to *France*. This was indeed, in a *modish Phrase*, to carry our *Fidelity* to a *Nicety*, I had almost said, to a *Romantick Nicety*. Thus much I will venture to assert, that if we are so very *nice* in observing all Articles of Agreement with our *Good Friends* and *Allies*, if no Prospect of *Advantage* can tempt us to stain our *unblemished Honour*, or break through an hasty Engagement, we do certainly deserve to be treated in the same Manner by our Friends, who doubtless will *fly* to our Assistance, should we ever happen to be insulted by our Enemies; and yet I do not remember, that when *Spain*, upon our slighting her Friendship, had united herself to another Power, and actually besieged *Gibraltar*, I say, I do not remember that in this Day of our *Distress*, any of our Allies made a Diversion with their

their Land Forces in our Favour, or sent a single Ship to our Assistance. I have said thus much to shew, that neither our *Reputation*, nor our *Affairs*, were by any Means in a *despicable* Condition, after the *Peace* made by the late Lord *Oxford*; upon whom I cannot help making two farther Observations. He *formed* and *established* the *South-Sea Company*, which, though it has been *since* made an *Instrument* to perpetrate the greatest Villanies, was, perhaps, as great a *National Benefit* in its first Formation, and might have been made to serve as *Noble Ends*, as any one Thing that has been set on foot by any *English Minister* in this Age. My next Observation is of a kind, that had *Plutarch* been to write the Life of this Noble Lord, that Historian would have thought this *one* Observation contain'd in itself, the highest *Panegyrick* upon a Man who had passed through so many great Posts. It is this: The late Earl of *Oxford*, though he had been several Times *Speaker of the House of Commons*; though he had been *Secretary of State*, and *Lord Treasurer*; though he had formed a Company which made Government-Securities that were at *40 per Cent.*

Discount fell at *Par*; after all this, *Died poor.*

IT is true, that his Son is in Possession of a noble Estate: He married a Lady, who, perhaps, was the greatest Fortune of any *Subject* in *Europe*; and as, besides her vast Fortune, she brought to his Arms a most beautiful *Person*, animated by a *Mind*, in which every *Noble Quality* is highly *conspicuous*, his Lordship seems, at first Sight, to be as fair a Mark for *Envy*, as any one Man in *Great Britain*; yet before that *Hag* fastens her Teeth upon him, I would beg her to remember, that his Estate did not arise from the *Blood* and *Ruin* of his Fellow-Subjects; that it was acquired by a Method which any Gentleman in *England* might, at least, have attempted, and was apparently owing to his own *Personal Merit*.

I HAVE made a Digression, for some Reasons your Majesty may easily guess, upon the late Lord *Oxford's* Politicks; though I first only mentioned him upon the Account of his Behaviour to Men of Genius and Letters. He was seconded in this Part of his Con-

duct by another Gentleman then in the Ministry, with whom Mr. ADDISON being one Day invited to dine, could not help saying to a Friend, for whom he had no Secrets, That *He was heartily sorry his Principles forced him to oppose one of the greatest and most accomplished Men he had ever seen ; and in whose Conversation he could have thought himself so truly happy.* This Gentleman has of late (I don't know why) been a good deal talked of ; and a certain *Hero* has with great Intrepidity attacked a Man who has both his Hands tied behind him. The very Enemies of this Gentleman are forced to allow him a vast Capacity ; but then they add, that he has a constant Eye upon his *own Interest.* Be it so : Is it impossible to make it his *Interest* to employ those great Talents Nature has given him in the real Service of his Country ? or at least not to keep him distinguished in so *particular a Manner* from the rest of his Fellow-Subjects, as must be a little grating to a Man of any Spirit ; especially if this be done, as his Friends seem to insinuate, in Breach of a *formal Agreement?* I have heard it *strongly affirmed*, though never fully proved, that he

he has betrayed the Pretender. I can say nothing to this Fact; yet if it be true, I can never believe he is now endeavouring to make a Person our *King*, under whose Reign, he himself, in all Probability, would be the *first* Man in *England* that lost his Head. An *open Enemy* may much sooner hope for Pardon, than a *false Friend*: To be betray'd by a Person whom he has greatly trusted, is one of the last Crimes that a Prince of common Sense would ever forgive.

THE late Lord *Godolphin*, Lord *Sommers*, and Lord *Halifax*, were every one of them very great Encouragers of Men of *Parts* and *Learning*: The last was so remarkable upon this Account, that it made him very justly be stiled, by way of Distinction, the *Mæcenas* of the present Age.

THERE cannot, perhaps, be a stronger Instance of the kind Manner in which this noble Lord treated every Man who had even the smallest Pretensions to a Genius, than his taking into the Number of his Acquaintance an Humble Servant of your Majesty's; I mean one Mr. *Budzell*. I am pretty well assured that
your

your Majesty knows he honoured this Gentleman with his Confidence. Your Majesty I believe has heard of a certain *Baronet*, who most shamefully abused that Confidence the late Lord *Halifax* generously reposed in him: I never yet imitated his Example; and hope I shall not be charged with doing so at present, though I venture to tell your Majesty *one Story* of that great Man.

Mr. ADDISON and I, had the Honour to accompany his Lordship when he went down to *Greenwich* to wait upon the late King. A little before we went, he took us into his Library, and with an Air that spoke the infinite Satisfaction of his Mind, expressed himself, as nearly as I can remember, in these very Words. "Well, *Gentlemen*, we have at length
" gained a compleat Victory: The *Hanover*
" Succession takes place, the King is land-
" ed, and we shall soon have the Pleasure
" to kiss his Hand: You are so much my
" Friends, that I must tell you plainly I
" expect to have the *White-Staff*; and I
" have been long considering, and am come to
" a Resolution how to behave: I came into
" the World with little or no Fortune; e-
" very

“ very Man will try to make his private
“ Circumstances *Easy*; I thank God I have
“ made mine so: I have got more Money
“ than it is perhaps proper every body
“ should know; and I am come to a full Re-
“ solution to set up my *Rest*, as to that
“ Point, where I am. I have been in my
“ Time in a good deal of hot Water, and as
“ deeply engaged in Parties as most Men.
“ To say the Truth, I have done a good
“ many Things in the *Spirit of Party*,
“ which, when I reflect upon seriously, I am
“ heartily ashamed of; I resolve, by the Help
“ of God, to make King *George* the First not
“ the *Head of a Party*, but the *King* of a
“ glorious *united Nation*. To be sure, a
“ great many People must be removed from
“ their Posts: The Tories themselves can’t
“ expect it should be otherwise; and ’twould
“ be the highest Ingratitude not to reward
“ several Gentlemen, who have born the
“ *Heat of the Day*, and run all Hazards for
“ the sake of the House of *Hanover*: Yet
“ at the same Time, if his Majesty will take
“ my Advice, there shall be no *Cruelties*, no
“ *Barbarities* committed: Every worthless
“ Fellow that has called himself a *Whig*, got
“ drunk,

" drunk, and bawled at an Election, shall not
" displace a Man of ten Times his own Me-
" rit, only because he is a *reputed Tory*. I
" think I know that Party : Some of them did
" mean the Pretender ; but yet there are
" others among them that are as worthy Men
" as ever lived. *It is Time the Nation*
" *should be united* : We shall then indeed be
" a *formidable People*. I hope this glorious
" Work has been reserved by Providence for
" the Reign of his Present Majesty. I have
" told you already, that I do not propose to
" lay up a Farthing out of the Profits of my
" Post : I design to live in such a Manner,
" as I hope shall be no Dishonour to my Ma-
" ster ; and I will, if possible, put an End to the
" scandalous Practice of buying Places. I
" am firmly resolved to recommend no Man
" for a *Post in the Government*, but such
" an one as I have reason to believe a *Man*
" *of Merit*, and who will be a *Credit* to his
" *Country* and his *King*. As for you, *Ad-*
" *dison*, as soon as I have got the *Staff*
" my self, I intend to recommend you to
" his Majesty, for one of his Secretaries of
" State.

Mr. ADDISON, and I believe very sincerely, told his Lordship, that he did not aim at so high a Post; and desired him to remember, that he was not a *Speaker* in the *House of Commons*. Lord *Halifax* briskly replied, *Come, prithee Addison, no unseasonable Modesty: I made thee Secretary to the Regency with this very View: Thou hast now the best Right of any Man in England to be Secretary of State; Nay, 'twill be a sort of displacing thee, not to make thee so. If thou couldst but get over that silly Sheepishness of thine, that makes thee sit in the House, and hear a Fellow prate for half an Hour together, who has not a tenth Part of thy good Sense, I should be glad to see it; but since I believe that's impossible, we must contrive as well as we can. Thy Pen has already been an Honour to thy Country, and, I dare say, will be a Credit to thy King.*

WITH these Sentiments Lord *Halifax* waited upon his late Majesty at Greenwich; where he soon found that he had been a little too *sanguine*. It is no great Secret, that during the short Stay his Majesty made at the

Hague,

Hague, he received other Impressions than those he had when he left *Hanover*. He was told by some Persons, that *If he made a Lord Treasurer, he would make a greater Man than himself*. The Merit of making the *Barrier Treaty* (a Treaty which had been condemned in Parliament, and which some good Whigs thought a very extraordinary one) had been so pompously displayed, that when his Majesty landed, a noble Lord, who lately retired from Business, had the best Interest in him of any *Englishman*. Measures were taken very different from those which the late Lord *Halifax* thought would have been most for the Service of his King and his Country. He had never that Credit with his Royal Master which his Services had made him conceive, at least, that he really merited; and all his Friends know that he had determined to resign his Post in the Treasury a little before his Death. Some People are of Opinion, that had those moderate Measures been pursued, to which my Lord *Halifax* was inclined, and in which the late Mr. *Addison* entirely agreed with him, we should not have seen so many *horrid Executions*, and *Scaffles* stained with *Blood*. I shall not pretend to determine that

Point: Yet thus much I will venture to assert, That if any Minister can be wicked enough to foment, and keep up *Parties* and *Divisions* in a Nation, for no other Reason, but that his own *Conduct* may not be examined, or that he may have an Opportunity of raising a vast Fortune from *Pardons* and *Confiscations*; such a Minister would be the severest Scourge with which Heaven in its Wrath could possibly inflict a miserable People; and that should it at last think their *Sins*, however great, had been sufficiently punished, should it suffer them to *open their Eyes*, and see by what *Engines*, and with what *Designs* they had been made to *worry* and *destroy* one another, they must fall with uncommon Fury upon the *wicked Cause* of all their *Miseries*. I shall apply this *general Position* thus far to my own Countrymen in *particular*: I hope no *Arts* will ever prevail upon us, to consider our selves so much as *Whigs* and *Tories*, till we are brought intirely to *forget* what it *chiefly* concerns us to *remember*, namely, *That we are all Englishmen.*

As I am sensible how glad some People would be to put an ill Construction upon my Words, I must declare, That nothing in the preceding Paragraphs is meant as a *Reflection* upon his late Majesty: That *amiable Prince* had, without Dispute, a Soul above *Pride*, and full of *Humanity*. It was *his* great Misfortune, as well as *ours*, that he did not speak our Language; and that besides this great Impediment, some about him endeavoured, as much as possible, to prevent his being *acquainted* with his *Subjects*: Nor can there be a greater Instance, how far a Good-natured Prince may be influenced to do hard Things, than his late Majesty's frowning upon a *Son*, who was the *Ornament* and *Support* of his Throne; a Fact I should not mention, if it was not too notoriously known to escape being recorded in *History*. As to the late Lord *Halifax*, I *loved* him when *living*; I still *honour* and *respect* his Memory; and hope, that though I have related his Sentiments in the same *frank Manner* he spoke them to two Persons in whom he confided, the Story is not much to his Disadvantage

I HAVE flung into the Appendix, a short Sketch of this great Man's *Character*, (extracted from a Pamphlet published some Years since;) in which I hope my Enemies will hardly dare to say I flattered him, since I drew it after his *Death*, and when I was very well assured it could not turn to my *Advantage* *.

I MAY seem to have digressed a little from the Subject I was upon, *viz.* *The Liberty of the Press*; yet from what I have said it may be observed, that the *great Men* of all *Parties* since the Revolution, *Whigs* and *Tories*, have left us this *inestimable* Branch of our *Liber-ties*; and that while their *Actions* have been such as would bear being *defended*, and they have treated Men of Parts with that *Humanity* which is justly due to them, they have not been afraid of the *Liberty of the Press*.

I SHALL not deny, but that should some Minister, for our Sins, be placed over us,
who

* See APPENDIX, Page xvii.

who was wicked enough to stick at nothing to aggrandize himself and his Family ; and at the same Time weak enough to oppress and provoke Men of Sense and Genius ; if while he is profuse in his Rewards to those who talk such Stuff before a select Assembly, as their Audience are often sick with hearing, he makes no Scruple to injure those who can speak to a whole Nation, and engage their Attention ; I say, I shall not deny, but that such a *Minster*, with such a *Conduct*, might have great Reason to dread and apprehend the *Liberty of the Press*. He might very justly fear that his Picture would be drawn in Colours more lasting than Sir *Godfrey Kneller's*, be delivered down to Posterity in its full Deformity, and, perhaps, with some of its worst Features a little aggravated. I believe I may very safely affirm, that a Man of a liberal Education, and a noble Genius, had much rather *commend* than *censure* ; that he has naturally an Aversion to Satire ; and never uses it, but either when he is obliged to do so in his own just Defence, or when he conceives the Objects of his Satires are altogether incorrigible by milder Methods.

*Cuncta prius tentanda; sed immedicabile
vulnus
Ense rescidendum est. ——*

WHEN the Cause of his Country, or his own personal Injuries call loudly upon him, a Man of Parts may lawfully use that Weapon which *God* and *Nature* has put into his Hands; and a late celebrated Author has observed in his Characteristicks, That in a Country where there is any Freedom, *Writers* of real Ability and Merit can do themselves Justice whenever they are injured, and are ready furnished with Means sufficient to make themselves considered by the Men in highest Power.

IT is not impossible but your Majesty may at present be so much in Love with *Nobility*, as to think no Doctrine *orthodox*, but what comes from the Pen of a *Person of Quality*. If this be the Case, it is proper I should let you know, that the Writer I last quoted is the late Earl of *Shaftesbury*. I find what this *noble Author* says in one of his Essays, is so much to my present Purpose,

pose, that I shali quote some Part of it, and venture to recommend it, not only to your Majesty's Consideration, but to the Consideration of all *Grandees* and *Potentates* in general, for whose *Use* and *Benefit* it evidently was designed.

" NOBLES and *Princes* must remember,
" that their *Fame* is in the Hands of *Pen-*
" *men*; and that the greatest Actions lose
" their Force and perish, in the Custody of
" unable and mean Writers. Let a Nation
" remain ever so rude or barbarous, it must
" have its *Poets*, *Historiographers*, and
" *Antiquaries* of some kind or other, whose
" Business it will be to recount its remark-
" able Transactions, and record the Atchieve-
" ments of its *Civil* and *Military* Heroes.
" And though the *Military Kind* may hap-
" pen to be the farthest removed from any
" Acquaintance with *Letters*, or the *Muses*,
" they are yet, in Reality, the most interest-
" ed in the Cause and Party of these *Re-*
" *membrancers*. The greatest Share of
" Fame and Admiration falls naturally on
" the *armed Worthies*. The Great in Coun-
" cil are second in the *Muses Favour*. But
" if

“ if worthy poetick *Genius's* are not found,
“ nor *able Penmen* raised, to rehearse the
“ Lives, and celebrate the high Actions of
“ Great Men, they must be traduced by such
“ *Recorders* as Chance presents. We have
“ few *Modern Heroes*, who, like *Xenophon*
“ or *Cæsar*, can write their *own Commenta-*
“ *ries*. And the raw *Memoir-Writings*,
“ and unformed Pieces of *Modern States-*
“ *men*, full of their interested and private
“ Views, will, in another Age, be of little
“ Service to support their Memory, or Name;
“ since already the World begins to sicken
“ with the Kind. 'Tis the learned, the able,
“ and disinterested *Historian* who takes place
“ at last. And when the *signal Poet*, or
“ *Herald of Fame* is once heard, the infe-
“ rior Trumpets sink in Silence and Obli-
“ vion.

“ But supposing it were possible for the
“ *Hero*, or *Statesman*, to be absolutely un-
“ concerned for his *Memory*, or what came
“ after him; yet for the present merely, and
“ during his own Time, it must be of Impor-
“ tance to him to stand fair with the Men of
“ *Letters and Ingenuity*, and to have the Cha-

“ racter and Repute of being favourable to
“ their Art. Be the illustrious Person ever
“ so high or awful in his Station, he must
“ have Descriptions made of him, in *Verse*
“ and *Prose*, under feigned or real Appel-
“ lations. If he be omitted in sound *Ode*, or
“ lofty *Epick*, he must be sung at least in
“ *Doggrel* and *plain Ballad*. The People
“ will needs have his *Effigies*, tho' they see
“ his *Person* ever so rarely: And if he re-
“ fuses to sit to the good Painter, there are
“ others, who, to oblige the Publick, will
“ take the Design in hand. We shall take
“ up with what presents ; and, rather than
“ be without the *illustrious Physiognomy* of
“ our *Great Man*, shall be contented to see
“ him portraiture by the Artist who serves
“ to illustrate Prodigies in *Fairs*, and adorn
“ heroick *Sign-Posts*. The ill Paint of this
“ kind cannot, it's true, disgrace his Excel-
“ lency ; whose Privilege it is, in common
“ with the Royal Issue, to be raised to this
“ Degree of Honour, and to invite the Pa-
“ senger or Traveller by his *Signal Repre-
“ sentative*. 'Tis supposed in this Case,
“ that there are better Pictures current of the
“ Hero ; and that such as these, are no true
“ or

“ or favourable Representations : But in
“ another sort of Limning, there is great
“ Danger lest the Hand should disgrace
“ the Subject. Vile *Encomiums* and wretch-
“ ed *Panegyricks* are the worst of *Sa-*
“ *tires*; and when *fordid* and *low* *Genius*'s
“ make their Court successfully in one Way,
“ the *generous* and *able* are aptest to revenge
“ it in another.

“ ALL Things considered, as to the Interest
“ of our *Potentates* and *Grandees*, they ap-
“ pear to have only *this Choice* left 'em, either
“ wholly, if possible, to *suppress Letters*, or
“ give a helping Hand towards their Support.
“ Wherever the *Author-Practice* and *Liber-*
“ *ty of the Pen* has in the *least* prevailed, the
“ Governors of the State must be either con-
“ siderable *Gainers* or *Sufferers* by its Means;
“ so that 'twould become them either by
“ a right *Turkish Policy* to strike directly
“ at the *Profession*, and overthrow the very
“ *Art* and *Mystery* itself, or with Alacrity
“ to support and encourage it in the right
“ Manner, by a *generous* and *impartial* Re-
“ gard to *Merit*. To act *narrowly*, or by
“ *Halves*; or with *Indifference* and *Coolness*;
“ or

“ or *fantastically*, and by *Humour* merely,
“ will scarce be found to turn to their Ac-
“ count. They must do *Justice*, that *Justice*
“ may be done them in Return. ’Twill be
“ in vain for our *Alexanders* to give Or-
“ ders, that none besides a *Lisippus* should
“ make their Statue ; nor any besides an
“ *Apelles* should draw their Picture. In-
“ solent Intruders will do themselves the
“ Honour to practise on the *Features* of these
“ *Heroes* ; and a vile *Chærilus*, after all,
“ shall, with their *own Consent*, perhaps,
“ supply the room of a *deserving* and *noble*
“ *Artist*.

“ IN a Government where the *People* are
“ *Sharers in Power*, but no *Distributers*
“ or *Dispensers* of Rewards, they expect it
“ of their *Princes* and *Great Men*, that they
“ should supply the *generous Part*, and be-
“ stow *Honour* and *Advantage* on those from
“ whom the *Nation* it self may receive *Ho-*
“ *nour* and *Advantage* : ’Tis expected, that
“ they who are high and eminent in the
“ *State*, should not only provide for its ne-
“ cessary Safety and Subsistence, but omit
“ nothing which may contribute to its *Dig-*
“ *nity*

“ nity and Honour. The *Arts and Sciences*
“ must not be left *Patronless*. The Pub-
“ lick itself will join with the *good Wits*
“ and *Judges*, in the Resentment of such a
“ Neglect. Tis no small Advantage, even in
“ *an absolute Government*, for a *Ministry*
“ to have *Wit* on their Side, and engage
“ *Men of Merit* in this kind, to be their *Well-*
“ *Wishers and Friends*: And in those *States*
“ where ambitious Leaders often contend for
“ the supreme Authority, 'tis a considerable
“ Advantage to the *ill Cause* of such *Pre-*
“ *tenders*, when they can obtain a Name and
“ Interest with the *Men of Letters*. The
“ good Emperor *Trajan*, though himself no
“ mighty Scholar, had his Due, as well as
“ an *Augustus*; and was as highly celebra-
“ ted for his *Munificence*, and *just Encou-*
“ *rage*ment of every *Art* and *Virtue*. And
“ *Cæsar*, who could *write* so well himself,
“ and maintained his Cause by *Wit*, as well
“ as by *Arms*, knew experimentally what
“ it was to have even a *Catullus* his Enemy;
“ and though *lashed* so often in in his *Lam-*
“ *poons*, continued to *forgive* and *court* him.
“ The *Traytor* knew the Importance of this
“ *Mildness*. May none who have the same
“ Designs

“ Designs, understand so well the Advan-
“ tages of such a Conduct! I would have
“ required only this *one Defect* in *Cæsar’s*
“ *Generosity*, to have been secure of his ne-
“ ver rising to Greatness, or *enslaving* his na-
“ tive Country : Let him have shewn a
“ *Ruggedness* and *Austerity* towards free
“ *Genius’s*, or a *Neglect* or *Contempt* to-
“ wards Men of *Wit*; let him have trusted
“ to his *Arms*, and declared against *Arts*
“ and *Letters*; and he would have proved a
“ second *Marius*, or a *Cataline* of meaner
“ Fame and Character.

“ ’Tis, I know, the Imagination of some
“ who are called *Great Men*, that in regard
“ of their high Stations, they may be esteem-
“ ed to pay a sufficient Tribute to *Letters*,
“ and discharge themselves, as to their own
“ Part in particular, if they chuse indiffe-
“ rently *any Subject* for their Bounty, and
“ are pleased to confer their Favours either
“ on some one Pretender to Art, or promis-
“ cuously to such of the Tribe of Writers,
“ whose chief Ability has lain in making
“ their Court well, and obtaining to be in-
“ troduced to their Acquaintance. This
“ they

“ they think sufficient to instal them *Patrons of Wit*, and Masters of the literate Order. But this Method will, of any other, “ the least serve their Interest or Design. “ *The Ill-placing of Rewards, is a double Injury to Merit, and in every Cause or Interest passes for worse than mere Indifference or Neutrality.* There can be no Excuse for making an ill *Choice*. Merit in “ every kind is easily discovered, when sought: The Publick itself fails not to give sufficient Indication, and points out those Genius's, who want only *Countenance* and *Encouragement* to become considerable. “ *An ingenious Man never starves unknown; and Great Men must wink hard, or 'twould be impossible for them to miss such advantageous Opportunities of shewing their Generosity, and acquiring the universal Esteem, Acknowledgments, and good Wishes of the ingenious and learned Part of Mankind.*”

THESE are the Sentiments of the late Earl of Shaftesbury; whose Breast was warmed with the justest Notions of *Liberty, Honour, and Humanity*; and whose Loss would have been

been scarce supportable to those who *personally* knew him, if he had not left a *Son* behind him, who seems to inherit not only his *Estate*, but his *Virtues*.

My Lord Shaftesbury is of Opinion, that A Nation can hardly be *enslaved*, while Men of *Parts* and *Learning* defend her *Liberties* and *Interest*; and that even *Cæsar* himself, with all his great Qualities, would not have been able to *subvert* the *Roman Constitution*, if he had not with infinite *Address*, and by a most uncommon *Generosity*, engaged the *Men of Wit* to be of his *Party*. I hope for the sake of *Liberty*, this noble Author's Observation is *true*: The World has not at present a Multitude of *Cæsars*; and, as bad as the Age is, I myself have known one or two Instances, where Men of distinguished *Parts* and *Learning*, have refused all Offers of *private Advantage* to themselves, when they have imagined their receiving them would have been inconsistent with the *Good* of their *Country*. The noble Author last quoted is likewise of Opinion, that it would be highly for the Interest of such *Grandees*, and *Governors of the State*, as would fain be

Tyrants, and have not got the Men of Parts on their Side, to imitate the *Turkish Policy*; To take away the *Liberty of the Pen*, to suppress *Letters* entirely, and overthrow the very *Art* and *Mystery of Learning*. I fully agree with his Lordship upon this Head; and as shocking as this *Scheme of Politicks* may seem, which his Lordship asserts would be for the *Interest* of a certain Sort of *Potentates* and *Grandees*, it is nothing more than what two famous *Tyrants* used their utmost Endeavours to put in Execution; I mean *Caligula*, and an Emperor who reigned in *China* about two thousand Years since. It seems neither of these two worthy Gentlemen cared to have his *Virtues* and *Exploits* recorded in *History*; or compared with those of some other Emperors: They therefore burnt all the *Books* and *Libraries* they could lay their Hands upon, and made it *penal* for any Man to be a *Writer*: Learning, however, had the good Fortune to survive both of them, and History has taken her full Revenge upon them: She has given us their Pictures in such Colours, that their Names and Memories are detested by all Men.

SHOULD

SHOULD any Minister arise in this Island, who should offer to make the least Attempt upon the *Liberty of the Press*, I hope, from what has been said, my Countrymen will easily guess what it is he is aiming at : And here I must observe, that should such a Minister carry on such expensive Prosecutions, at the Publick Charge, against any Writer he did not like, as a Man of a moderate Fortune was not able to defend himself against, such a Proceeding would be almost the same Thing, as taking away the *Liberty of the Press* by an Act of Parliament. I must likewise take Notice of that *Doctrine of Innuendoes*, which some People have endeavoured to make pass for *Orthodox* : If I was bid to define it, I know not how to do it better, than by declaring, that it seems to me to be *A very extraordinary Liberty which one Man assumes, of declaring what another Man meant.* Mens *Actions* are undoubtedly punishable by *human Laws* ; but their *Meanings* and *Intentions* seem most proper to be determined before a much higher Tribunal, than any established in *Westminster-Hall* ; I mean, before that great Tribunal, where in

due Time the *Secrets* of all Hearts will be laid *open*. I hope, therefore, I shall never live to see an *Englishman innuendo'd* out of his *Life*, his *Liberty*, or his *Fortune*: If there was but a very little Improvement made upon this *Doctrine of Innuendo's*, and one Man should take upon him to judge when another must speak *ironically*, it is the Opinion of some, that almost every Author in *England*, who has wrote a Dedication to a Great Man, might be brought within the Statute of *Scandalum Magnatum*; A Statute which was doubtless *nicely* calculated to preserve the *Liberties* of a *free People*.

LIBERTY is a Lady of exquisite Beauty: One of our best Poets falls into a sort of Rapture at her very Name.

O LIBERTY! thou Goddess heavenly bright,
Profuse of Bliss, and pregnant with Delight!
Eternal Pleasures in thy Presence reign,
And smiling Plenty leads thy wanton Train;
Eas'd of her Load, Subjection grows more light,
And Poverty looks cheerful in thy Sight;

*Thou mak'st the gloomy Face of Nature gay,
Giv'st Beauty to the Sun, and Pleasure to the Day.*

ADDISON.

But then this same *Lady*, like other *great Beauties*, is extremely apprehensive of having any *Attempt* made upon her. Should any *desperate Russian* but offer to clap a *Gag* in her *Mouth*, she would certainly conclude, (as most of her Sex would in the same Circumstances,) that she was first to be *ravished*, and then *murdered*.

THE *Romans* were so extreamly jealous of their *Liberty*, and knew so well how apt Mens Heads are to be turned by *Power* and *Flattery*, that they took Care to give their greatest Heroes a little *Mortification*, even in the Midst of their most solemn Triumphs. If we may guess from some Descriptions which are left us of a *Roman* Triumph, it was certainly one of the most glorious Sights in the World. The vast Quantity of rich Spoils which were usually carried along upon this Occasion, The Shouts and Songs of a victorious Army crowned with Laurcl, and a Multitude of Captives which cloied the

[Q 3]

Shew;

Shew ; all added the utmost Lustre to the Solemnity : In the Midst of these rode the Victor himself in his Triumphal Chariot, while all the Streets and Buildings in *Rome*, from the *Gate* at which he entered, quite up to the *Capitol*, were filled with a prodigious Number of his Fellow-Citizens, who, as he passed by them, showered down Millions of Blessings upon the Man who had done such signal Services for his Country. The *Romans* allowed all this as a Reward to *Merit*, and for the *Dignity* of their Commonwealth ; but for fear the Conqueror should grow too *conceited* with so many Acclamations, and Shouts of Applause, they obliged him to let a *Common Slave* ride with him in his Triumphal Chariot.

————— *Et sibi Consul
Ne placeat, curru Servus portatur eodem.*

Juv.

The Senate themselves took care to shew their Dislike of any Man who gave the least Sign of an uncommon *Insolence* or *Vanity* ; of which, I beg Leave to give your Majesty a very remarkable Instance.

MARIUS

MARIUS, was without Dispute, a good Soldier, and had done his Country some Service; but made it too soon appear, that he intended nothing more than to satisfy his own *Avarice* and *Ambition*: In a Word, that he was cruel, ungrateful, vain, and insolent. When the Solemnity of his Triumph over *Jugurtha* was ended, he called the Senate together, and had the *consummate Assurance* to enter that illustrious Assembly in his *Triumphal Robe*. This *vain Fellow* was weak enough to imagine, that while he was thus distinguished in his *Dress* from every other Senator, his *Speeches* would have a more than usual *Weight*, and that he might govern the Senate as he pleased. He found himself terribly mistaken; and that the Eyes of a *Roman Senate* were not to be dazzled by an *embroidered Gown*: All the Assembly looked upon the *uncommon Appearance* of this *insolent Plebeian*, with the utmost Contempt and Indignation. *Marius*, though remarkable for a most *profligate Assurance*, could not bear the Eyes of a *Roman Senate*, whose Looks sufficiently informed him what they thought of him. He found it extremely proper to

Retire, to put off his Embroidered Gown, and return habited like other Senators of his own Rank. The *Vanity* of his *Attempt* was not, however, forgot : It discovered such an uncommon Stock of *Pride* and *Insolence*, that many observing Men were the less surprised, when, a few Years after, they saw the Streets of *Rome* wet with the *Blood* of her best *Citizens*, who were sacrificed to the *Jealousy* and *Avarice* of this wicked and *rapi-*
cious Man.

THE greatest Check we have in *Great Britain*, upon the Actions of such Men as may think themselves above the Reach of the Law, is the *Liberty of the Press* : We have enjoyed this Mark of *Freedom* pretty quietly ever since the *Revolution*. If we have seen any Men in Power since that Time, do such Things as they did not care the Publick should be put upon observing, What would they have done, had the *Liberty of the Press* been taken away !

I MUST own, I am under the less Apprehensions of our losing this inestimable Branch of our Liberty, because, I find, that all Men,
though

though of different Parties and Opinions, who have any Sense of *Shame* or *Liberty* left, are of the *same Opinion*, upon this Important Subject.

I CANNOT omit in this Place doing a Piece of Justice to a Reverend Prelate, who has been frequently accused, of late, of having acted directly contrary to those Principles he once professed. I have neither *Time*, nor *Inclination* to examine whether this Charge be, or be not *true* in Fact; or if it be true, whether what his Lordship has done, has proceeded from a Desire to get a better Bishoprick, or from a real Error in his Judgment; or, lastly, from his having received great personal Favours from a certain Gentleman: These have sometimes so strongly affected a *grateful Mind*, that they have made very valuable Men do Things which neither their Friends, nor themselves, once imagined they could have been capable of: But without entering into any of these Enquiries, what I would here take notice of, is a Declaration in Print which his Lordship has lately made to this Effect, *viz.* *That he shall ever be for maintaining the LIBERTY*

OF THE PRESS, sacred and inviolable, even though he was sure every Week of being exposed to the Publick, with all the Wit and Malice his Enemies are Masters of. This handsome Declaration, I hope, his greatest Enemies will have the Ingenuity to own, is exactly conformable to those Principles he formerly professed. It must, I think be allowed, that few Men in *England* have made a larger Use of the *Liberty of the Press*, than his Lordship has done, who has publickly maintained several Points in Opposition to the Sense of the *Convocation*, and to some of the greatest and most learned Divines of our established Church: After this, I must own, that could I but suspect his Lordship had any Hand in a Design either to *abridge*, or *take away* this Branch of our Liberties, I should look upon him as one of the most notorious and despicable *Hypocrites*, that ever appeared in any Age. I will go still farther: Should this invaluable Branch of the *British Liberties* ever happen to be attacked, if his Lordship did not employ all his Abilities and *Interest* in the Defence of it; if he did not write, speak, and solicit, in good Earnest, against any *Bill* which struck, though never so

so remotely, at the *Liberty of the Press*; I should from thenceforward readily believe the worst *Stories* his greatest Enemies report of him. But till I have Reason to doubt his Lordship's *Sincerity* in this Particular, I must beg some Gentlemen's Pardon, for whom I have the utmost Respect, if I suspend my Belief of *some Things*; or should even suffer it to lean that Way, where *Good Nature* and *Charity* seem to solicit it.

I DO likewise own to your Majesty, that I cannot possibly believe your Majesty's *Hero* will aim at abolishing the *Liberty of the Press*; because *No Body* ever made a greater Use of it than *himself*. When he was a *private Gentleman*, and out of Power, he is allowed by his Friends to have wrote a Pamphlet, which he dedicated to the late Earl of *Oxford*, then *Lord Treasurer*, and in which he arraigns the whole *Conduct* and *Measures* of that noble Lord. But he does not stop here: He declares, in Effect, that the Parliament of *Great Britain* were at that Time a *Set* of *Corrupt Men*, who would do any Thing they were *bid*, and adhere to his *Lordship* and their *Monosyllables* against the loudest

loudest Dictates, either of *Justice*, or their own *Consciences*.

I NEVER yet heard any body doubt, but that your Hero was likewise the Author of a certain Pamphlet, entitled, *The Case of R.W. Esq;* Your Majesty must know, that this *R.W. Esq;* was at that Time a *private Gentleman*, who had *formerly* been in a publick Post, and was expelled the House of Commons for taking more Money in that Post, than they conceived he ought to have done. If this Gentleman was really so *innocent*, as he is represented to be in the Pamphlet I have mentioned, the *British* House of Commons were most certainly guilty of a flagrant *Act of Cruelty and Injustice*; which the Author of this Pamphlet does not at all scruple very strongly to insinuate. I believe no body will venture to assert, that it is not a much higher Piece of Assurance, and much more criminal, (if any Thing of this kind is so,) to censure the Proceedings of that August Assembly, who represent the *British* Nation, than to fall upon any particular Minister. I cannot therefore possibly think, that a Man, who has taken such extraordinary

traordinary Liberties in Print, as I have mentioned, can ever have the Assurance to strike at the *Liberty of the Press*: And upon the whole, I do entirely agree with your Majesty, that the Report of his having any such Intention, must certainly be a most *In-famous Forgery*. However, what I have wrote upon this important Subject, may possibly be of Use one Day or other, though it is altogether *unnecessary at this Time*.

I AM likewise of Opinion with your Majesty, that the Report of your Hero's being about to procure an *Act of Indemnity* must be an *infamous Forgery*; And I am of this Opinion for this Reason: If he is really *innocent*, he does not want such an Act. I will go still farther; I hope my Countrymen will never lose that Character they have long had in the World, of being a *generous* and a *good-natured* People: If after all the Clamour that has been raised upon your Majesty's *Hero*, there should nothing more appear against him than a few *Errors in Judgment*, or *Slips of Memory*, his Enemies will be sufficiently covered with *Confusion*; since, I believe and hope, that there is

is not a Man in *England*, who has any *Generosity*, that would not take his Part : But if, on the other hand, such Crimes should *start* into *Day-Light*, as could only be produced by a *Wicked Mind* ; If it should be plainly proved, that he has sacrificed all other Considerations to *two Passions* ; he cannot be so *weak* as to imagine, that an *Act* obtained in the *Fulness* of his *Power*, would *screen* him from the *just Resentments* of an *injured Nation*.

Y O U R Majesty is pleas'd to observe,
“ That the two *infamous Forgeries* above
“ mentioned, continued their *Day* ; but be-
“ ing now no more, Eustace Budgell *Esq*;
“ is pitched upon to supply their *Room*, and
“ furnish out fresh *Calumny*.”

I FIND in this Part of your Majesty's Letter, I am growing a Person of some *Importance* ; and that your Majesty condescends to treat me accordingly : In the Beginning of your Letter I was Mr. *Eustace Budgell* ; but at present, being pitched upon to supply the *Room* of *two Infamous Forgeries*, I am *Eustace Budgell Esq*; I do assure your Ma-
J
jefty,

jesty, that I am perfectly indifferent, as to what your Majesty shall please to call me ; and yet, let me tell your Majesty, that by the Law of *England*, I have as much Right to the Title of *Esquire*, as ever your Majesty had to the *Crown of Sparta*.

YOUR Majesty, speaking of your humble Servant, is pleased to add immediately after the Words I last quoted ;

" And did his Ability but equal the Inclination he has discovered of discharging his Trust, to the Satisfaction of his Employers, they would by this Choice have given us the best Testimony they ever produced of a good Judgment."

I AM in some little Doubt, whether your Majesty did not intend this last Sentence as a *Compliment* to me. It was the Advice of a very wise Man, *Whatever thou doſt, do it with all thy Heart*. The short Character *Cæsar* gave of *Brutus*, was, *Quicquid vult, valde vult*; and every Body knows that *Cæsar* loved *Brutus*, as well as any one Man in all *Rome*. I am, for ought I know, in a fair Way of becoming

becoming your Majesty's *Chief Favourite*: Your Majesty seems to be satisfy'd, that my *Intentions* are good, and to apprehend that I am thoroughly in *earnest*: Whatever, therefore, my Success may be, I am well assured, that so gracious a Prince as your Majesty, will readily accept of the *Will* for the *Deed*.

I AM come to the last Paragraph of your Majesty's Letter, which runs thus:

“ To conclude ; Mr. Budgell has shewn
“ the most consummate Assurance, to say
“ no worse of it ; and come into all the
“ Baseness long practised by our publick De-
“ famers, in hopes, like them, to fix a Re-
“ proach without Proof ; and such Conduct
“ must cause the Abhorrence of every honest
“ Mind. He may complain ; but it ought to
“ be without Regard, till his Cause of Com-
“ plaint is known to be just ; and this would
“ greatly disappoint his Intentions. In a
“ Word, he has levelled his Venom at a noble
“ Person, who, conscious of his own Integrity,
“ has hitherto triumphed over Malice, and
“ the most powerful Opposition. He has pas-
“ sed the most publick Examinations, and had
“ his

" his whole Conduct approved after the
" strictest Scrutinies: His Actions have all
" born that Test in Time, which are a suffi-
" cient Assurance of their finding the fullest
" Approbation from Posterity: What then
" is it possible such a Gentleman should ap-
" prehend from the unjustifiable Outrage of
" so despicable a Tool as Mr. Budgell ?

I am, Sir,

May 26. Your Humble Servant,
1730.

CLEOMENES.

YOUR Majesty, in the Beginning of this Paragraph, is very angry with me for having shewn, what your Majesty is pleased to call *a most consummate Assurance*. I hope your Majesty does not apprehend, that I am encroaching upon the Province of a particular Friend of your Majesty's, or aiming to deal in a *Commodity*, which he has determined to *ingross* for his *own proper Use*. I shall tell your Majesty, with great Freedom, my real Sentiments upon this Head. I am firmly persuaded, that the World would be much happier than it is at present, if while

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there

there are some Men who stick at nothing, and have a most consummate Assurance, Men of Worth and Honour were not too often oppressed with a certain Timidity and faulty Bashfulness, which prevents them from performing their Duty, and doing what they really owe to God, their King, their Country, and themselves. The French call this sort of Shame, very justly, *Une mauvaise honte*; nor do I remember to have met with any Expression, which exactly answers to this, and is commonly used in any other Language. It is this blameable, or ill sort of Shame, (that makes Men too solicitous about Forms and Trifles, and often prevents their doing their Duty,) which all wise Men have endeavoured to conquer.

WE are told, That *Cato* thought the Customs and Manners of the Romans so corrupted, and a Reformation in them so necessary, that he sometimes acted in a different Manner from other People: That he would often appear in the Streets without either his Shoes or Coat; not from a Principle of Vanity, or a silly Affectation of being singular; but because he maintained, that *A wise Man ought only*

only to blush at what was vicious, and really shameful in itself, and ought to despise all other Sorts of Disgrace.

LYCURGUS was so much of *Cato's Opinion*, that he ordered the Maids of *Sparta*, at some solemn Feasts and Sacrifices, to dance stark-naked, and sing certain Songs, while the King, the Senate, all the Men, and especially the Batchelors, stood round them in a Ring. *Lycurgus* had two Designs in making the *Spartan* Virgins appear thus naked in Publick: One was, that he might take away some Part of that too great and *acquired Female Baseness*, which he thought their Education in other Countries added to what was *natural*. His other Design was to incite *Love* and *Desire* in the Men. We are told, accordingly, that a good many *Marriages* were usually made soon after these *solemn Feasts*; from whence some People have inferred, That while the young *Ladies* were dancing naked, the Men had the *consummate Assurance* to keep their Eyes open.* If

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your

* However odd this Institution of *Lycurgus's* may appear to some of my Readers, *Plato* (called by the primitive

your Majesty had not quite lost your *Memory*, you could doubtless have set us right in this Particular.

As to the *consummate Assurance*, with which your Majesty is pleased to charge me; if your Majesty means by it, that I did what I thought I owed to my *King*, my *Country*, and *myself*, without *Fear or Trembling*, I plead guilty to the Indictment: But if your Majesty means any Thing more than this, I am not conscious how I have deserved the Reflection.

As to your Majesty's Assertions in this Paragraph, "That *I come into all the Baseness long practised by publick Defamers*, "in *Hopes, like them, to fix a Reproach without Proof:*" And that "Such Conduct
"must

primitive Christians, the *Divine Plato*) highly approves of it. In his own *Commonwealth*, he is for having the Women learn some Exercises, at which they were to appear *naked*; and declares, That while they are covered with the Robe of *true Modesty*, and ashamed to commit a *base* or a *wicked Action*, they need not blush at any Thing else. In the Christian Account of the Creation, we are told, That *Eve was naked while she was innocent*; and that *Shame was the Effect of Sin*.

“ must cause the Abhorrence of every honest Mind;” I am in Hopes I have said so much already to both these Points in my *Introduction*, and particularly in the *State of my Case*, that I need not say any Thing more to them here.

YOUR Majesty proceeds next to a *Panegyrick* upon the *Hero* of your Epistle: You are pleased to tell the World, “ That *I have levelled my Venom at a Noble Person, who, conscious of his own Integrity, has hitherto triumphed over Malice, and the most powerful Opposition: That This noble Person has passed the most publick Examinations, and had his whole Conduct approved after the strictest Scrutinies: That His Actions have all born that Test in Time, which are a sufficient Assurance of their finding the fullest Approbation from Posterity.*” Far be it from me, to deny one Syllable of all this, or to doubt the Truth of your Majesty’s Encomiums upon this *Noble Person*. I beg Leave to add one Circumstance, which may possibly give them the more *Weight*; namely, that I do firmly believe no Man living is so well acquainted with all the Virtues of

this Noble Person, as your Majesty. I admire your Majesty's happy Talent at Panegyrick ; yet if so mean a Man as myself may presume to give his Opinion of the Writings of a Monarch, I do think there is something still wanting in your Majesty's Panegyrick upon your Hero. It is confessed on all Hands, that he has some Enemies ; and I am afraid, these wicked People will be apt to apply to your Majesty, and your Panegyrick, that old musty Maxim among the Logicians, *Dolosus versatur in Generalibus* ; that is, *A Man who is on the wrong Side of the Question, and would impose upon his Readers, always deals in Generals* ; that they will pretend a General Panegyrick is no Manner of Answer to a Multitude of particular Charges. I confess, therefore, I could have wished that your Majesty had condescended to answer some of the Particulars, of which these wicked People accuse your Hero. That your Majesty may do this, when you next appear in Print, I beg Leave to mention some of those *Infamous Forgeries* and *Groundless Scandals*, with which they have attempted to blacken his Character. I shall collect these for
your

your Majesty's Service, out of their own *Writings*, and chiefly out of the weekly *Lucubrations* of that Impudent Fellow the *Craftsman*.

THE Enemies of your Majesty's Hero, pretend, in the first Place, to assert, That *He is full of the meanest, the poorest Jealousy, that every Man was, who pretended to be thought a great Man*: That it has been his *principal Study and Endeavour*, to keep every Man out of publick Busines, whom he could but *suspect* of any Thing more than a very *vulgar Capacity*: They are so malicious, as to come to *Particulars* upon this Head: They *name* some of the *best and greatest Men in England*, to whom, they pretend, that, upon several Occasions, your Majesty's Hero has done very *ill Offices*: They ask with a malicious Snear, *Whether these Men are Jacobites?* or, *Whether it is not notorious to all the World, that they have employed both their Fortunes and Abilities in the Service of the House of Hanover?* And lastly, *What Crime they are guilty of, besides their having greater natural Parts, and more Learning, than we usually see in*

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Men

Men born to ample Fortunes ? I have heard the Enemies of your Majesty's Hero insinuate, that The Arrival of the late Mr. Law in Eng-*

* Having mentioned the late Mr. Law, I cannot help saying, that I believe That Gentleman had juster and clearer Notions of *Trade*, of *Money*, and of *Credit*, than any one Person now living ; and that there was something as great in that Scheme which he set on foot in *France*, (where he was not suffered to conduct it his own Way,) as ever entered into the Heart of Man. Upon his first Arrival in *England*, and when the Clamour of the World ran highest against him, I ventured to write a short Thing in his Defence; which made some *Noise*; and which I have incerted in the Appendix, as it gives an Account of a most remarkable Affair; and, I flatter myself, shews some very *Material Differences* between the Plan of the *Mississippi* in *France*, and our ridiculous *South-Sea Busines*s. I did not think proper to set my Name to this *Pamphlet* at the Time it was published; but, being assured by several Persons, that Mr. Law had expressed an uncommon Curiosity to know the Author of it, I was at last introduced to him by a Gentleman of great Capacity, and a noble Fortune, who is now in the House of Commons. From that Day I had the Honour of his Acquaintance: He even condescended, now and then, to call at my House, and to spend some Hours with me, tête à tête. I have some Reasons to think, that if the late Duke of *Orleans* had lived, Mr. Law would have been once more at the Head of Affairs in *France*: I believe the very Time was settled for his going thither. Notwithstanding which, he received the News of the Regent's Death with that steady Temper of Mind he had before shewn in all *Fortunes*; though by this Accident he lost all Hopes of returning to *France*, and of receiving a large Sum of Money, which he conceived was justly due to him, and would have made his

England, gave him some terrible *Pangs*; and that it was a good while before that Great Man could get an Opportunity of talking to the late King, though he had something to say to him which very well deserved his Royal Attention. When they have had the Assurance to talk in this Manner, they add, That though they should allow your Hero has a little more in him than some about him, they only grant, that *A One-eyed Man, is a King among the Blind*. In a word, they pretend to say, That this *mean Jealousy* (a Passion which always supposes great *Defects* in a Person haunted with it) is the *Master-Key* to the whole Conduct of your

his private Circumstances entirely *easy*. They were not so when he was in *England*: Though there was a Time, when this extraordinary Man might every Day have put whatever Sum of Money he had pleased, into his own Pocket, he never made that Use of the Opportunity, which some *Statesmen*, I have heard of, would infallibly have done. I am humbly of Opinion, that the Death of the late Duke of *Orleans*, was a most fortunate Circumstance for this poor Island, having some Grounds to fear, that if the late Mr. *Law* had been placed once again at the Head of the Finances in *France*, he had formed a Plan, which would have made that Nation *Mistress of Europe*, and have utterly destroy'd the *British Commerce*. The Pamphlet I have mentioned begins, Page xx. of the Appendix.

your Hero, and will serve to explain *several Things*, which no Man living could otherwise account for.

I THINK your Majesty may very easily confute this *Piece of Scandal*. Though *England* has not, perhaps, at present a greater Number of good Heads than it ever contained before at one Time; yet I will not think so very meanly of my Country, as to suppose there are not *some Men* in it, who know what *Grievances* their Fellow-Subjects chiefly complain of, and could find out the most *proper Methods* to give them *Ease*, without incroaching upon the *Rights* of the Crown: That there are not others who understand our *Trade*, and know how to enlarge several *Branches* of it: And, lastly, That there are not others who are capable of representing the *Person* of our *Great King* in Foreign Courts, after such a Manner as may be no *Disgrace* to him: Of convincing the Ministers they treat with, that they are not to be over-reached and deluded either in *publick Treaties*, or *private Conversations*; and of making such *Discoveries* in *another Country*, as may be of use to their *own*,

when-

whenever they return to it. In a word, as much as *Vice* and *Corruption* have weakened our *Bodies*, and depraved our *Minds*, I do firmly believe that we have still among us many Men of great *Parts*, great *Learning*, and whose *Hearts* are really *warm* in the *Interest* of their Country. These are the Persons whom every *wise* and *able* Politician takes care to *find out*; and to fix in such Posts, as may render their different Talents most serviceable to the Publick. Your Majesty, therefore, has nothing more to do, in order to confute the Piece of *Calumny* last mentioned, but to give us a *List* of Men of *Parts*, *Learning*, and *Integrity*, who have been preferred, and brought into Busineſs by your Hero. I am ſensible, ſo long a *List of Names* would interrupt the Thread of your Majesty's Discouſe; however, you may add it at the End, by *Way of Appendix*.

THE Enemies of your Majesty's Hero pretend, That the Condition of our Affairs at preſent, is the *natural Conſequence* of this his *mean Jealousy*, and of his having kept Men of the *greatest Abilities* out of publick *Business*: But in this Assertion, their

Malice has evidently got the better of their *Discretion*, and given your Majesty a most lucky Advantage over them. As little as I know of Politicks, I will engage to demonstrate, that no *Common Genius's*, no *Vulgar Capacities*, could have put our Affairs in that *happy* Situation they are at present.

ANOTHER wicked Insinuation of your Hero's Enemies, is, That there never was in any Nation a Man more generally *hated* and *abhorred*: That There is hardly a single Person to be found, who will speak well of him, besides his *own Relations*, and such Men, whose particular *Circumstances* and *Situation* make them fear his *Frowns*. I confess, I could wish you would take a little Pains, to shew that this *Insinuation* is entirely groundless; because, I must own, that could I believe it *true*, as great a Respect as I have for your Majesty, I should make some Scruple to take your Majesty's *single Word*, against the *united Voice* and *Out-cries* of a *brave*, a *generous*, and a *good-natur'd People*; Of a People so far from complaining without Reason, that a Gentleman in *Ireland*, famous for making several shrewd Observations,

servations, used to say, that *The English Nation could not SEE, but that they could FEEL*. He used to illustrate this Position, by comparing them to a *Blind-Horse* full of *Mettle*; and to observe that this *generous Animal* may be spurred on till his Head comes *souse* against a Wall; but that then the *Smart* and *Pain* of the Blow, and his *Indignation* at being thus used, makes him lay about him in such a Manner, that he seldom fails to *fling his Rider*.

ANOTHER Reflection of your Hero's Enemies, is, That he never yet was the Author of any *one Thing*, that was for the real *Service* and *Advantage* of his *Country*. I should not think your Majesty need say any Thing in Contradiction to so *apparent* a Mistake, if that insolent Creature, the *Craftsman*, had not again and again repeated this very Assertion, and defied all Mankind to prove it *false* by *one single Instance*.

ANOTHER Thing, which the Enemies of your Hero have had the Wickedness to insinuate, is, That the *Immense Wealth* he has got, could hardly arise from the *Legal Profits*

fits of his *Post*. I have seen a Calculation in plain Figures, which they have been malicious enough to make, in order to prove what they insinuate ; and which, if it will be of any Service to your Majesty, I believe I could procure for you ; but I take this to be so evident a *Piece of Scandal*, that your Majesty will easily confute it, without any Man's Assistance.

ANOTHER of their *Infamous Forgeries*, is, That your Hero is a little too kind to his Relations ; that even a *Welsh Cousin* of his own shall be preferred to a Man of the *best Sense* and *greatest Integrity*. I have heard some of them cry out, in a malicious sort of a Way, *O glorious Day ! When I--c le H--p was a Min--r of St--e, and Sir Thomas Hanmer had not a Seat in the House of Commons !* I don't know very well what they meant by this Exclamation ; but since I have reported the Fact, I dare say your Majesty will find out their *Meaning*, and make them sufficiently ashamed of it.

LASTLY, They have had the consummate Assurance to attack the very *Eloquence* of your

your Hero. That impudent Fellow, the *Craftsman*, pretended the other Day, that he had found a *Pillar* among the Rubbish at *Whitehall*, which was formerly erected to the *Infamy* of Cardinal *Wolsey*. Some People fancy, that he went no farther for his Pillar than to his own Study. He told us there was an *Inscription* upon this same Pillar, which he printed in one of his Papers. This *Inscription*, taking Notice of the Cardinal's *Way of speaking*, says, That he was *Orator Volubilis, haud facundus.* I must own, I think the *Latin* of this pretended *Inscription* was *Classical* enough ; and I believe, whoever composed it, when he wrote the Words I have quoted, had his Eyes upon that Passage in *Tacitus* ; where that Author, speaking of a certain Man, says, That he was *Loquax magis, quam facundus : Rather a Prating Fellow, than truly Eloquent.* *Danvers*, for fear every Body should not understand his *Latin Inscription*, must needs translate it into *English Verse* ; and when he came to the Words I have mentioned, was wicked enough to Paraphrase upon them in the following Manner.

*His poor, fallacious, tinsel Eloquence,
Tickles the Ear, but never informs the Sense ;
While every Plausible Harangue affords,
A specious, empty, puzzling Flow of Words.*

If your Majesty thinks, that *Danvers* had the Malice to aim at depreciating your *Hero's* Eloquence, while he pretended to describe the *Cardinal's*, I make no manner of Doubt, but that you will easily prove, That the *Eloquence* of the first; instead of being only *wordy, brisk, and plausible*, is *strong, nervous, and masculine*.

I HAVE mentioned some of those *groundless Scandals*, which the Enemies of your Majesty's Hero have been *weak* enough to invent ; and have even presumed to suggest to your Majesty, in what Manner they ought to be answered. I do not doubt, but one *Touch* of your Majesty's *Pen*, will make them all fly and disappear, like *Clouds* before the *Sun* ; and I do assure your Majesty, that there is not a Man in *England*, who will more heartily congratulate you upon your *Victory*, than my self.

YOUR

Y O U R Majesty may please to observe, that throughout my whole Letter, I have vindicated your *Hero* in his *publick Character*: I have agreed with your Majesty, that the Reports, of his having a Design upon the *Liberty of the Press*, and that he was endeavouring to *screen* himself by an *Act of Indemnity*, can be no other than *Infamous Forgeries*: If I have mentioned some other *Scandals*, which have been invented by the *Wickedness* and *Malice* of his Enemies, it is only that I may give your Majesty an Opportunity of confuting them.

BUT if, after all I have said in his Defence, your Majesty should wonder what is my particular Quarrel to him, I shall answer your Majesty with the same Frankness and Ingenuity, with which I have hitherto acted.

I DO think, that notwithstanding all his *Virtues*, he has treated me with an uncommon Degree of *Cruelty* and *Ingratitude*. I am, however, very sensible, how apt People are to be *partial* in their own Cases. If

[S] therefore,

therefore, upon a fair Hearing, any one Man of *Sense* and *Honour*, of his own Acquaintance, will justify his Behaviour towards me, I am ready to ask his Pardon for what I have said, in the most publick and submissive Manner: Nor is this the first Time I have made him this Offer. I am, however, very sensible that the Destruction of *one* Man, who, perhaps, was *never* very valuable, but who is *now* broke and dispirited by a constant Course of Persecution for *nine* Years together; I say, I am very sensible, that the Destruction of such a Man, is not of Consequence enough to the Publick to interest it in his Behalf: And I do assure your Majesty, that however severely your Hero may have treated me, yet, if I was sure his *Schemes* and *Designs* were for the Service of his Country, and the *real* Interest of that Illustrious Family now upon the Throne, I would, with my last Breath, most heartily wish him Success in his Undertakings. I will venture to assert, that a very large Share of my Thoughts, since I was capable of thinking to any Purpose, have been employed in the Service of the House of *Hannover*. Your Majesty is pleased to assert, that

I seem to found all my *Pretensions* upon a small Entertainment which I prepared for my Prince in his Way to New-Market, and upon a *Poem* which I published soon after, and dedicated it to his Royal Consort. I wish your Majesty had told the Publick to what I have made any *Pretensions*: I am sure, I never yet asked, either my King, or my Queen for *Money*, a *Place*, or a *Pension*. I own, I do think that I have some small *Pretensions* to my Sovereign's good Opinion of my *Loyalty* and *Zeal* for his *Family*; and that these *Pretensions* have a much better *Foundation*, than any your Majesty has thought fit to take notice of. The *ridiculous Light* your Majesty has endeavoured to place me in, will, I hope, plead my Excuse for saying something, which I should never otherwise have said.

My Behaviour, when the *Protestant Succession* was by many People thought *doubtful*, having been truly represented to the late King, I was, soon after his Majesty's Arrival, sent into *Ireland* in several considerable Employments. I acted there as *Secretary of State*, *Secretary of War*, and *Clerk of*

the Council, when the Pretender landed in Scotland.

My undertaking a necessary Business, *foreign* to my *Province*, and which was of no *Advantage* to me, together with some *particular Circumstances* which happened in that *Great Crisis*, and *Hurry of Affairs*, obliged me for many Weeks together to sit up constantly *three Nights in every Week*. It is true, the *Fees* of my Office would have made me some *Amends* for this excessive Fatigue : But I imagined that in this *great Crisis*, when the *English Constitution* was in danger, every Man was obliged to shew the utmost *Zeal* for his *King* and his *Country* ; I therefore gave away all my *legal Fees* upon one of the most *considerable Branches* of my Office, and *returned* their *Money* to such Counties as would send it up to me. The Government themselves, at last, who saw with how much *Zeal* I acted, offered me an handsome *Reward* out of the *Treasury*. I was more than once pressed to take it; but would never except of what, I humbly conceive, I might have received with *Honour*. I never aimed at *immense Wealth*; my *Fortune* was

at

at that Time as large as I desired to see it; and I had, perhaps, as little Reason to fear a Gaol, as some of your Majesty's Friends. What I have here mentioned, is a plain Fact. Your Hero *knows* it to be true: But if he thinks proper to deny it, a whole Nation are my *Witnesses*. When your Majesty shall condescend to lay before the Publick one *single Instance*, in which your Hero, or any one of his *Family*, has acted with the like *disinterested Zeal* in the Service of his *Prince* and *Country*, I have then a good deal more to say to you. Till then, this may, perhaps, suffice; since I humbly conceive, that if I had made any *Pretensions*, this *alone* would have been another Sort of *Foundation* for them, than my offering a *Glass of Wine* to my Prince, as he passed before my Door; or my making two or three *tolerable Verses*. I cannot help telling your Majesty, that your *Speculations* upon these two last To-picks, are extreamly *mean* and *pityful*; so very *mean*, that I can truly affirm, they never once entered into my Head.

I HAVE heard, indeed, that the present Queen of Great Britain is a *Patroness* of

polite *Arts* and *Sciences*; of which She has very lately given a remarkable Instance. Her *Bounty* has corrected the Errors of Fortune: She has taken a Man out of extream Poverty, whose *Soul*, it is pretty plain, was infinitely *above* his unhappy Circumstances. If he has but one half of that *Honesty* and *Capacity*, which his Compositions speak, I have known Men undertake to manage the *Interests of a Kingdom*, with a much less Share of either. I will venture to say, that this Instance of her Majesty's Bounty will be no Disgrace to her, though it should be recorded in History; nor do I think the Precedent extreamly *dangerous*, being firmly perswaded, that if her Majesty should determine to give *thirty Pounds per Annum* to every *Thresher* in her Dominions, who could do what Mr. *Duck* has done, the Revenue of the Crown would be very little impaired by such a Resolution. I am firmly perswaded, that the Nation would not be at all dissatisfied, though Mr. *Duck's small Pension* was paid him out of the *publick Money*. I believe, indeed, they are no mighty Friends to *Pensions in general*; and that they have seen in *former Reigns*, with no little *Uneasiness*, not only

thirty

thirty Pounds, but three thousand Pounds per Annum of their Money given to a worthless Wretch, to support his Pride and Luxury: But what has infinitely added to their Uneasiness, has been their observing, that this Creature, in Requital for a Pension paid out of the Purses and Labour of his Fellow-Subjects, had promised to do whatever a wicked Minister bid him, and to employ all his little Credit and Capacity to ruin the Liberties and Constitution of his Country.

I do assure your Majesty, that I never yet asked, or thought of receiving a Pension; but I do most stedfastly believe, that Excellent Princess, who now wears the British Crown, would think it, at least, as proper to be Just as Generous; and that while with a Royal and Bountiful Hand, She is giving one poor deserving Man so much Reason to Bless her, she would not, if she knew it, suffer even me, as worthless, as despicable as I am, to perish in a Gaol, for want of being paid a small Arrear; to which, I think, I have as much Right, as any Man in England has to his Estate.

It is not long since we were informed from the *Publick Papers* of another Action of Her Majesty's, truly worthy a *Great Queen*: We were told, that she had sent *Fifty Pounds* to a *Daughter of Milton's*; and I cannot help observing, that this Action was the *more generous*, as it is well known, that *Milton* employed his *Great Talents* to the Destruction of one of her Royal Predecessors. I have already taken notice, that *Cromwell*, as well as *Queen Elizabeth*, took care to employ the *ablest Men* in *England*. He made *Milton* his *Secretary*, for such of his Dispatches as were to be wrote in *Latin*. I have seen some Letters to sovereign Princes, drawn up by this *Great Man*, in which the *Sense* was so *strong*, and the *Stile* so truly *Roman*, as could scarce fail to give any Assembly, before whom they were read, a great Idea of the *Wisdom* and *Genius* of the *English Nation*. I am sorry to say, for the Honour of my Country, that I have seen some Dispatches, *since the Days of Oliver Cromwell*, which were neither *Sense* nor *Latin*; and which evidently proved, that the Person who drew them up, did not understand

stand the true Force and Meaning of those *Words* he used.

CROMWELL was a *good-natured* and *generous* Master to an *able* Servant. Milton's Post gave him constant Access to the *Protector*; and I think it can hardly be doubted, but that if this great Man (whose Genius was little inferior to Homer's) had been intent upon *getting Money*, he might have made a *large Fortune*. He might, doubtless, have had a *Share* of the *Church-Lands* and *confiscated Estates*; but while he was wholly intent upon what he thought his *Duty*, and the *Service of his Country*, he took so little Care to heap up *Money*, that I am assured his only Daughter (whom he had taught to read *Greek* to him, though she did not understand it) would have wanted *Necessaries* before she died, if Mr. Addison had not collected one hundred Guineas for her among his particular Friends; and if the Queen had not lately sent her Fifty Pounds. I never yet asked, and I believe shall never ask for *Bounty-Money* from the Crown; but I do most firmly believe that the same good Queen who sent Fifty Pounds to a *Daughter*

of

of Milton's, would not suffer the *nearest Male-Relation* of the late Mr. ADDISON to *starve in a Goal*, for want of what is most *justly due to him from the Crown*. Having mentioned my deceased *Friend* and *Relation*, the late Mr. ADDISON, I cannot forbear saying, that I am fully perswaded both the *present Age*, and all *Posterity*, will allow him to have been, at least, as *great* and as *good* a Man, as your Majesty's Hero. It is something more difficult for a Man to make a *whole Nation* chearfully lay out their *Money* to know his *Sentiments*, than to talk before *five hundred People* in a *Place*, where they are *obliged* to hear what is said, if they do not stop their Ears. Mr. ADDION's Political Writings, in the Opinion of all Mankind, contributed not a little to endear the *Protestant Succession* to his Fellow-Subjects. I believe it is hardly yet forgot what a *Spirit of Liberty* his *Tragedy* of *Cato* rouzed up in the *People*; and that an *able* and *dextrous Statesman* * then in Power, (whatever was his private Opinion,) thought it a wiser Way to swim with the Stream,

* The late Lord B——ke.

Stream, than oppose the Torrent : He went himself to the Theatre, sat in the most conspicuous Part of it, joined with the People in their Applauses ; and when the Play was done, clapping fifty *Guineas* into Booth's Hand, told him, with an *Air* which more than doubled the *Favour*, That He must desire him to accept of that small Present, for dying so nobly in the Cause of Liberty. In a word, I do firmly believe that your Majesty's *Hero* never yet did one tenth Part of that *real Service* for the *House of Hanover*, as the late Mr. ADDISON. I would not be thought to mean this as a *Reflection* : Heaven itself does not require more of any Man, than his *Abilities* enable him to perform.

THIS is not a Place to examine whether I ever did your Hero any *particular Services* ; or he ever made me any *particular Promises*. I was never yet weak enough to imagine, that a *Modern Politician* was obliged by his *Word*, or the common Rules of *Justice* and *Gratitude*. I was born to an *Estate*, which placed me above *Want* : I was bred to a *Profession*, in which, I hope, I could have got at least a *Livelihood*: But if

If my *Paternal Estate* has been struck at by *Extraordinary Methods*; If I have been dis-countenanced in the Exercise of my *Profession*; If with an *Inhumanity* rarely practised towards the most *notorious Traitor*, the *sacred Name* of a King, detesting *Cruelties*, has been made use of to prevent *Great Mens* doing me Kindnesses which they intended, but which I never *solicited*, or even *expected*; If this should happen to be the Case, *These are Circumstances which* (let me tell your Majesty in your own *Words*) *will justify an open Opposition.* If I can be made sensible, that I have done your Majesty's Hero any Injury, or have been misinformed in any one *Particular*, (which I will not affirm is *absolutely impossible*,) there is no Reparation, upon Earth, in my Power to make, which I shall not most readily make him. In this Case, there shall be no Occasion for any *Acts of Power* or *Extraordinary Management* in *Westminster-Hall*. I believe I should be as *severe* to *myself*, as ever he could be to me. But, if on the other hand, your Majesty has inspired him with some of those arbitrary Principles upon which you acted, when you was *King of Sparta*, and which made you *assassinate*

nate or banish every Man you did not like.* If his Head is so entirely turned with *Pride* and *Power*, as to imagine himself above giving any *Reason* for his Proceedings to Men whose *Assistance* he once *courted*, I am of Opinion he will yet find *Spirit* enough left among his Fellow-Subjects, to give him some little Uneasiness : I myself can inform him of one poor *Gentleman*, who, though at present he lies in a Gaol, yet, while he has any Breath left in his poor Carcase, will never silently submit to so *open*, so *bare-faced* a *Tyranny*. I have read an Account of the Proceedings of the *Spanish Inquisition*, and I observe,

* Cleomenes resolving to be absolute, upon his Return to Sparta, at the Head of the Mercenaries, from an Expedition against the Licheans, sent one Euryclidas before him to the *Suffitium*, or *Eating-Place* of the *Ephori*. Euryclidas pretended he had a Message from the King, relating to the Army; but while he was delivering this pretended Message, a small Party of Samothracians, that followed him, rushed in, and slew the *Ephori*. Cleomenes banishing some other Spartans, assumed the whole Power over the Commonwealth; but his having murdered the *Ephori* in this *infamous Manner*; and it being likewise strongly suspected, that he had caused Archidamus to be assassinated, made him so much detested by some of his Subjects, that (though he had an *unbounded Generosity* and great *militar Skill*) it is thought he was betrayed in the Battle against Antigonus; nor can I find, that after the Death of that Prince, the Lacedemonians ever desired Cleomenes should return to Sparta.

observe, that whenever that most *merciful* Tribunal clap an unhappy Wretch upon the *Rack*, he has always the *Liberty* of *Groaning* as loud as he has a mind to.

YOUR Majesty is pleased to conclude your Letter with a Question : After having finished your Panegyrick upon your *Hero*, you are pleased to ask ;

“ *What then is it possible such a Gentleman should apprehend from so despicable a Tool as Mr. Budgell ?* ”

To this *Question* I shall return a direct *Answer*. Your Majesty asks, *What it is possible your Hero should apprehend from so despicable a Tool as Mr. Budgell ?* I answer, If he is *Innocent*, *NOTHING* ; If he is *Guilty*, *EVERY THING*. We have, Thanks be to God, a King and Queen upon the Throne, who are Lovers of *Justice*, and abhor *Cruelties*. 'Tis true, the Age we live in, is *base* and *degenerate* enough ; yet, perhaps, *plain Truths* and *Matters of Fact*, may carry some little *Weight* with them, though they should happen

happen to fall from the *Mouth*, or the *Pen*,
even of *so despicable a Tool as Mr. Budgell*.

I am,

Your Majesty's most Obliged,

And most Obedient Humble Servant.

Novem. 6.

1730.



P O S T-

POSTSCRIPT.

SOME of my Readers may possibly expect, that I should give a particular Answer to all those *kind Titles*, your Majesty has been pleased to confer upon me in your Royal Epistle : Such as an *Ape*, a *Fool*, a *Coxcomb*, an *Impostor*, a *Buffoon*, an *Implement of Scandal*, a *Man below all Notice*, a *base Defamer*, &c. But as these *Arguments* are couched in a *Stile*, which becomes no Man but a *Monarch*, and in which I never yet wrote, I have nothing at all to say to *this Part* of your Majesty's *Letter*.

F I N I S.



T H E

APPENDIX.



A

S T A T E

Of one of the

Author's C A S E S

Before the

H o u s e o f L o r d s,

Which is

Mentioned and Referred to

I N

The Thirty - fourth P A G E

O F T H E

I N T R O D U C T I O N.

Note, This C A S E is now reprinted *verbatim*, as it was formerly given into the most Honourable House of Lords.

Printed in the Year 1731.



BUDGELL and PAZEY,

Plaintiffs in Error.

PIERS or HOLLIS,

Defendant in Error.

The Case of the Plaintiffs in Error.

Which, if an Order of the House of LORDS stands unaltered, will be heard at the Bar of the said House, on the 16th of May; on which Day the Errors on three other Writs of Error are also ordered to be argued.





BUDGELL and PAZEY,

Plaintiffs in Error.

PIERS or HOLLIS,

Defendant in Error.

When those very Laws which were designed to secure the Property of the Subject, are made the Instruments to destroy it ; and when an innocent Man, who desires to be quiet, and would do any thing that is reasonable to purchase Peace, shall have a Multitude of Actions brought against him, with no other Intent, than a plain and evident Design to ruin him : As this may one Day be the Case of any private Gentleman in England, who shall have a Rich and Powerful Man his Enemy, it may require a more than ordinary Attention.

The following CASE is most humbly presumed to be extreamly remarkable and uncommon.

MR. Budgell, some Years since, bought the Reversion of an Estate of one

Mr. *John Piers*, after the Life of his Mother: This Estate is held under St. *John's College* in *Cambridge*, and lies in the Manor of *Thorrington* in *Essex*; the Custom of which Manor is *Burrough English*. Mr. *Budgell's* Title to the said Estate is thus: *John Piers* the Father bought the Estate, which is Copyhold of Inheritance, and was surrendered to the Use of the said *John Piers* and his Wife, and the longest Liver of them, and afterwards to the Heirs of the said *Piers* for ever. He died, leaving four Sons, *viz.* *John, William, Edward, and Laud*; so that the Reversion of the said Estate became vested in the youngest Son *Laud*, after the Death of his Mother; and he dying intestate before his Mother, the Reversion of the said Estate fell to his Heir at Law, *viz.* his elder Brother *John Piers*, from whom Mr. *Budgell* purchas'd. Notwithstanding this, *William Piers*, the second Brother, who was neither his Father's, or his Mother's youngest Son at the Time of their Death, went down to *Cambridge*, upon his Mother's Death, and, by the Advice of some People, got himself admitted by the College, and perswaded *Robert Pazey*, a poor ignorant

Man, to attorn Tenant to him ; which, nevertheless, *Pazey*, having some Doubts, refused to do, till *Piers* gave him a Bond to indemnify him for paying his Rent.

Mr. *Budgell*, who had purchased the Estate for a valuable Consideration, offered, for a long Time, to refer the Matter to any Council learned in the Law ; which being refused, and Mr. *Budgell* being assured by all the Council he consulted, that his Title was good, he laid the same, at last, before *St. John's College* ; who being likewise assured by their Council, that the Estate was Mr. *Budgell's*, admitted him to it ; and *Pazey* likewise attorned Tenant to him, by signing a Writing drawn up and witnessed by the Steward of the College.

Note, Mr. *William Piers* married a Wife, who had been Woman to an Aunt of Mr. *Budgell's*, and purchased an Annuity from him of 10*l. per Annum* for her Life ; which Mr. *Budgell* constantly paid, till her Husband got into Possession of the *Thorrington* Estate, as aforesaid ; but then Mr. *Budgell* was ad-

vised to stop the said Annuity as a small Reprisal ; but he never once denied that it was due, and constantly offered Mr. Piers's Attorney (by whom Mr. Piers, who is a very antient Clergyman, declared he was entirely directed) to allow it out of those Rents Mr. Piers had received at *Thorrington*; or else desired, if he thought his Client was intitled to the *Thorrington* Estate, he would fairly try that Title. The Attorney would do neither; and instead of bringing an Ejectment for the *Thorrington* Estate, which was the only Matter in Question, he brings an Ejectment against an Estate of Mr. Budgell's in *Devonshire*, of 30*l. per Ann.* which was bound for the Payment of the abovesaid Annuity. Mr. Budgell could make no Defence against this Claim, for he never denied that the Annuity was due ; so that the Attorney got a Judgment, and he, or his Client, is now in the actual Possession of an Estate of 30*l. per Annum* in Land, for an Annuity of only 10*l. per Annum* during the Life of an old Woman,

who

who is above Threescore: Yet not content with this, *they have brought another Action against Mr. Budgell* for 200 l. upon a Bond, which he gave only as a Collateral Security for the Payment of the said Annuity; and Mr. Budgell having no other Relief but in Equity, against this cruel and most unjust Proceeding, they have got a Judgment upon the said Bond.

WHEN the Attorney had done all this, being apprehensive that *Robert Pazey* might seek to be indemnified for the Money he had paid in his own Wrong, the said Attorney goes down to *Thorrington in Essex*, and there persuading the poor Man, *Pazey*, to let him see his Bond of Indemnification, he claps the Bond in his Pocket, and rides away with it. When he had thus taken away the poor Tenant's Bond, he brings an Ejectment against him, to which Mr. *Budgell*, the Landlord, made himself a Party; Mr. *Budgell* could not but think himself sure of his Cause, since not only his own Council, *viz.* Mr. Serjeant *Bains*, and Mr. Serjeant *Darnell*, but even those his Adversary had consulted, declared

Mr.

Mr. *Budgell's* Title was good. The Attorney, however, brought on the Cause at *Chelmsford*; but instead of entering at all into the Merits of his Client's pretended Title, which would have ended all Controversies, (but which he knew was not good,) he produced a Lease for three Years, which was expired, but which *Pazey* had been ignorantly brought to take from Mr. *Piers*, and which Mr. *Budgell* had never heard of before. This Lease being an *Estopel* at Law against *Pazey*, the Tenant in Possession, the Attorney got a Verdict: He had taken care to bring his Action upon an Original out of the *King's-Bench*, so that Mr. *Budgell* could not prevent having his Estate immediately entered upon, and ruined, by any other Way than being at the great *Expence* of bringing a Writ of Error in the *House of Lords*, which he hath done accordingly, and must likewise apply to *Chancery* this next Term, for an Injunction to stop these unparallel'd Proceedings, and to oblige Mr. *Piers* to try the true Issue. Mr. *Piers's* Attorney, since the Verdict at *Chelmsford*, has also sent down and arrested the Tenant *Pazey*, a poor ignorant Man, for 150*l.* which he pretends is due to his Client
for

for Rent, although the Title is not yet tried, and although he had taken the said *Pazey's* Bond from him, by which he might be indemnified for the Money he hath already paid. The Bailiffs, for Want of Bail, kept the Man several Days in Custody, and used him in a most barbarous Manner; and several other People seeing he was arrested, demanded their little Debts also of him; so that the poor Man and his Family are undone.

THE only real Controversy between Mr. *Budgell* and Mr. *Piers*, is about the *Thorrington* Estate, which might have been ended at once, either by referring it to *Council*, or fairly trying the Title; but instead of that, Mr. *Piers*'s Attorney has made four several *Law-Suits* of it, and forced Mr. *Budgell* besides into the *House of Lords*, and into *Chancery*.

THE whole Estate is but fifty Pounds *per Annum*; and as it must be kept fenced against the Sea with a good Wall, does not, some Years, produce any Thing clear; so that much more Money has been already spent in Law than the Estate is worth.

IT is plain the *whole Design* of these Proceedings is to raise up as many *Law-Suits* as possible, to ruin Mr. *Budgell*: The poor Tenant is already ruined; and Mr. *Piers* himself would at length be ruined, if these Things were carried on at his Expence: But he is an ancient Country Clergyman, who declares he knows nothing of the Law, but leaves all to the Management of his Attorney, who, there are good Reasons to believe, was encouraged and supported by *a greater Man* than Mr. *Piers*, to carry on these Proceedings, in order to ruin Mr. *Budgell*.

Mr. *Budgell* would have got an Injunction from *Chancery* last Term (which is his only and proper Remedy;) but was disappointed of it by a Mistake of his Sollicitor's, and Mr. *Piers*'s living above an hundred Miles off, so that the *Subpæna* could not be served in Time.

HIS Adversaries are pushing on the Writ of Error, which he has been obliged to bring as aforesaid in the *House of Lords*, because they know he must have an Injunction from *Chancery* in a few Days, which will effectually stop all their Proceedings. If

IF Mr. *Budgell* had brought his Writ of Error to prevent the Payment of a *just Debt*, he should not have thought he deserved *any Favour*; but being obliged to bring his Writ of Error by the *unjust Proceedings* before mentioned, he humbly hopes, the most Honourable *House of Lords* will not shew his Adversaries so much Favour as to grant them a By-Day; nor try this Writ of Error on the same Day with three others, which it is humbly conceived were appointed to be heard all together, upon a Supposition that they were only brought (as they often are) to *delay Justice*.

HE is well assured that most Honourable House, which is the *Dernier Resort* of Justice, will shew no Manner of Countenance to such *Acts of Oppression*, as are perhaps *without a Precedent*; and he and his Tenant having actually filed their Bill in *Chancery*, before this next Term, and got a *Subpœna* returnable the first Day of it, are sure of obtaining an Injunction against their Adversaries, if they are not indulged by the House, with having the Errors argued on a By-Day.

W H E R E F O R E the Plaintiffs humbly hope, That the Defendant in Error shall have no such Favour shewed him; and that this Cause shall not be brought on before others which were set down, and therefore may regularly be heard before it.

I DO hereby certify, both as a Gentleman, and a Barrister at Law, that the above is a true State of my Case, and that I desire no other Favour from my cruel Adversaries, but that they will either fairly try their Title to the Estate, or refer the same to any indifferent Council learned in the Law.

May 4.
1728.

E. BUDGELL.

Note, The Reader cannot but observe, that the Proceedings above mention'd are so complicated, and of such a Nature, that no other Council but myself could set their Hands to all the several Facts.

T H E



T H E

CHARACTER

Of the Late

Earl of HALIFAX,

Mentioned and Referred to in the foregoing

Letter to CLEOMENES.





THE
CHARACTER*
Of the Late
Earl of HALIFAX.

 T was a lucky Accident for his Country, that the late Earl of Halifax was a single Man, and had no numerous Family, to be enriched at the Expence of the Publick. When he had made his

* This Character is taken out of a Pamphlet wrote by the Author in the Year 1721. and entitled, *A Letter to a Friend in the Country, occasioned by a Report, That there is a Design still forming by the late Directors of the South-Sea Company, their Agents and Associates, to issue the Receipts of the Third and Fourth Subscriptions at 1000 per Cent. and to extort about Ten Millions more from the miserable People of Great Britain. With some Observations on the present State of Affairs at Home and Abroad.* It is possible that this Character of the late Lord Halifax, with what is farther said of him by the Author before his Translation of the *Characters of Theophrastus*, may give Posterity a pretty good Idea of that Great Man.

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his own Fortune *easy*, which the *best* of Statesmen will do, his *only remaining Ambition* was, to do something worthy a Patriot, worthy of himself, and that might transmit his Memory with Honour to Posterity. No Man had ever greater *Parliamentary Qualities*, or was more happy at explaining (what he thoroughly understood) every Thing relating to our *Publick Funds, &c.* But then his Capacity was not *confined* here : He had a most exact Knowledge of *ancient* and *modern History*, which as it gives a Man the Experience of *past Ages*, is, perhaps, the most certain Assistance human Wisdom can have, in order to form a right Judgment of Things *present*. As he was truly a *Great Man*, and a superior Genius, he was so far from being *jealous* or *afraid* of others, who might have some small Share of those *Talents* he so eminently possessed, that *these* were the Men he made it his Study to *find out*, and to *employ* in the Service of the Publick, as their several Capacities made them most useful. He understood perfectly well the *true Interest* of *Great Britain*, with relation to *Foreign States*; and was so curious in every Thing that regarded *Trade* and *Commerce*, that he
had

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had made a Collection of every *Arrêt* that had been published in *France* or *Holland* for some Years past upon that Subject. He died when his Heart was *big* with Designs for the Honour and Advantage of his Country; and was taken from us at *a Time*, when we had most of all Occasion for his *great Abilities.*





A

LETTER

TO

MR. L A W,

UPON HIS

Arrival in *Great Britain.*

The SEVENTH EDITION.





A

LETTER TO Mr. L A W,

Mentioned and Referred to in
the foregoing LETTER to
Cleomenes.

SIR,

F the Method to acquire Fame, is to be the Author of the greatest and most surprizing Events; or if those Persons naturally draw the Eyes and Attention of Mankind upon them, who have felt the utmost Vicissitudes of Fortune, there is not at present in any known Part of the World so eminent a Man as your self. It is yet little more than a Twelve-month since you were the greatest and most glorious Subject in *Europe*, beloved and sup-

b + ported

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ported by a Wife and Powerful Prince, courted and caressed by all the Nobility of *France*, and almost worshipped and adored by the Common People. You are at present forced to fly from the Resentments of those very People, who have more than once attempted your Life; and, after a long Exile, are at Length come back again to *Great Britain*. If her former unkind Usage has not altogether effaced those tender Sentiments every great and good Man feels for that Place to which he owed his Birth and Education, you cannot possibly be unaffected with the present deplorable State of your native Country. You will find our Trade lost, our Credit ruined, our Money in the Hands of the basest Men among us, and the Innocent and Deluded still groaning under the Oppressions of the Wicked and the Insatiable: You will find, that our Destruction was brought upon us by a Set of Wretches, who have committed much higher Crimes than your greatest Adversaries ever accused you of, without being possessed of any one of those great and generous Qualities your most inveterate Enemies are forced to allow you: That these contemptible Fellows

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Iows have ruined us without so much as the Pretence to any rational Scheme, or one tolerable Design for enlarging Trade and Commerce : That the only Handle they had Sense enough to lay hold on to perpetrate their Villany, was that Spirit your System and Success in *France* had infused into People here ; so that, indeed, however distant it might be from your Intentions, you may in one Sense be termed the Author of our Misfortunes. You are not, therefore, to be surprized, if the Undistinguishing and Unfortunate among us look upon you as the immediate Cause of their Calamities and Ruin. Amidst these Prejudices and Passions of the Vulgar, a Pen never yet prostituted to Flattery endeavours to do some Justice to your extraordinary Talents ; and 'tis hoped you will excuse this Letter, wrote with a *Liberty* of which we in this Island have still some Footsteps remaining, though you have met with so little of it in Foreign Countries.

EVERY Man who has just Notions of Credit, Trade, and Money, must allow that the first Principles on which your great Scheme was founded, are most of them undeniable ;

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deniable; but it is pretty well known, that the *Avarice* of some with whom you were forced to comply, and the *Envy* of others who knew the only Way to overthrow the whole Structure, was to make it too large for its Foundation, obliged you, if not to *do*, at least to *suffer* what was equally against both your *Judgment* and *Inclination*. To expect, after this, that you should be answerable for all the Consequences, was as foolish and unreasonable, as if a Merchant should sue the Shipwright who first built and launched his Vessel, for the Damages she afterwards sustained in being run upon a Rock by unskilful Pilots.

WHAT was the Destruction both of the *Mississippi* and *South-Sea Stock*, was their rising to such a monstrous Height; and it is as certain that you foresaw the Consequence, and endeavoured to have stopped the Rise of the former, as it is notorious that our Set of thoughtless and insatiable Managers did every Thing in their Power to encourage that of the latter. This is demonstrable from one plain Matter of Fact. The *Mississippi Stock* was a long while together at above

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1800 *Livres per Cent.* and sold for some Time at 2050 *Livres per Cent.* Notwithstanding which, instead of encouraging the People to believe it really worth what their Madness had mounted it to, you took in but three Subscriptions at 1000 *Livres per Cent.* and bound your self down to take in no more ; that is, in other Words, you never pretended to declare, by the Price at which you set your highest Subscriptions, that the Stock was really worth half as much as it actually sold for.

ON the contrary, our *South-Sea Stock* never actually sold for 1000 *l. per Cent.* ready Money. Notwithstanding which, our honest and wise Directors, to perswade People they did not know the Value of it, took in two vast Subscriptions at 1000 *l. per Cent.* each, and had design'd to open a fifth at 1200 *l.*

HOWEVER, therefore, the present Prejudices and Passions of the Weak and Undiscerning may confound Men and Things together, without ever giving themselves the Trouble to make a just Comparison, Post-

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rity will do you Justice, and make a vast Difference between your wretched Imitators, and the great Original they endeavoured to copy after.

WHEN some future Historian, with a Genius equal to the Work he undertakes, shall in some distant Age arise in *France*, and shall give an Account of all the Prodigies that happened in this wonderful *Aera*, which from henceforth will be the most remarkable of any in the Annals of his Country; when he shall have judiciously collected, and coolly examined the several Accounts transmitted to him, it is more than probable he will express himself pretty much to the following Purpose.

“ **F**RANCE was now groaning under
“ the vast Debts contracted during the
“ Wars of *Lewis the Great*. The Regent,
“ while he was pursuing with an inflexible
“ Justice those Men who had pillaged the
“ Publick, had created himself many En-
“ mies ; and that unhappy Affair of the
“ *Constitution*, which we have before men-
“ tion’d, had sown Jealousies and Divisions
“ over

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“ over all the Kingdom. In this Juncture
“ of Affairs, Mr. *Law* first appeared at
“ Court, and quickly drew the Attention
“ not only of *France*, but of all *Europe*, on
“ himself alone.

“ THIS Gentleman, descended from an an-
“ cient Family in *Great Britain*, was oblig'd
“ to fly from his native Country, where he
“ had been unfortunately successful in a
“ Duel: His Talents and Genius, which lay
“ particularly in Figures, gave him a supe-
“ rior and very uncommon Skill in those
“ Games, which, though they depend chief-
“ ly on Calculation, are used by People of
“ Quality wholly ignorant of it. He had
“ visited most of the Courts in *Europe*, made
“ his Observations on their several Forms of
“ Government, and in particular upon every
“ Thing relating to the Management of their
“ Finances. His Person and Address were
“ graceful and easy; his Way of Thinking
“ strong and nervous; he spoke our Tongue
“ perfectly well, and is said to have had a
“ peculiar Happiness in conveying his own
“ Notions in their full Strength to those
“ with whom he conversed. In an Audience
“ which

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“ which he obtain’d of the Regent, he assu-
“ red him, That if *France* would exert all
“ that Force Nature had happily furnished
“ her with, she might still retrieve her lost
“ Power and Credit; that the Debts she
“ groaned under might be paid off, and the
“ Revenue put under new Regulations, e-
“ qually advantageous to the Prince and
“ People. . The Duke Regent relish’d his
“ Proposals and Reasons so well, that he
“ encourag’d him to execute the mighty Plan
“ he had formed, and assur’d him of the
“ Royal Protection and Assistance.

“ THE first Step Mr. *Law* took, was, by
“ a voluntary Subscription of himself and his
“ Friends, to establish a Bank, which recei-
“ ved and paid considerable Sums for the
“ Government; lent Money at three *per*
“ *Cent.* discounted Bills, and issued a great
“ Number of Notes payable at Demand. As
“ these Notes were answer’d with the utmost
“ Exactness, the Publick found them so
“ much more convenient than Silver, that
“ they soon came to be 4 or 5 *per Cent.*
“ better than *Specie*; and the Credit of the
“ Bank rose so fast, as not only allarm’d the
“ Jealousy

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“ Jealousy of the *Dutch*, but made them
“ resolved to blow it up. To this end, ha-
“ ving collected a great Number of Notes,
“ they made a Demand upon it in one Day
“ of above *Twenty-five Millions*. Mr. *Law*,
“ without shewing any Marks of Surprise,
“ immediately order’d the Payment of this
“ vast Sum all in Pistoles; but when he
“ had done so, procured an *Arrêt* to be
“ issued the Day following, by which the
“ Pistole was reduced from *sixteen* to *fifteen*
“ *Livres*. All Men were surprised to see
“ this *Plot* so dexterously turn’d upon the
“ malicious Contrivers of it; and the Design
“ that was laid to overthrow the Credit of
“ the *Bank* and its *Director*, gained the
“ the highest Reputation to both.

“ About the same Time, Mr. *Law*, who
“ only intended his Bank for the Foundation
“ of something much greater than it self,
“ declared his Design of planting a Colony
“ in *North America*, in that Country through
“ which the River *Mississippi* runs, and from
“ whence the Company he then formed took
“ its Name: This vast Tract of Land, as is
“ now well known, extends it self from the
“ Bay

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“ Bay of *Mexico*, quite round the *English*
“ Plantations, to our Settlement at *Canada*.

“ THE State-Bills, Loans, and other pub-
“ lick Paper Securities, for which People
“ had been prevailed, during the late Wars;
“ to part with their Money, were at this
“ Time so sunk in their Credit, that we are
“ assured they were from 57 to 65 per Cent.
“ Discount; yet scarce had Mr. *Law* decla-
“ red, that he would admit them to be sub-
“ scribed at *par* into the Stock of his new
“ Company, when so great was the Repu-
“ tation he had now gained, and so well
“ did his vast Designs suit with the warm
“ and enterprizing Genius of this Nation,
“ that these several Sorts of Publick Secu-
“ rities grew, in an Instant, to be twenty,
“ and even thirty per Cent. above *par*.

“ THE *Mississippi Company*, as it was then
“ called, and under which Name it is even
“ in this Age so often mentioned, had pretty
“ early taken upon them the Publick Coin-
“ age and *Farm of Tobacco*: The *East-*
“ *India Company* was soon after incorporated
“ with them; and now the Credit of the
“ United

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“ United Companies daily increasing under
“ the Direction of the most daring Genius
“ that ever appeared in *France*, they took
“ upon them the entire Management of the
“ Royal Revenue: In consideration of which
“ they not only raised the General Farms
“ *four Millions* a Year, but, to the Terror
“ and infinite Astonishment of all our Neigh-
“ bours, took the whole Debt of the Crown
“ upon themselves, amounting at that Time
“ to no less than *fifteen hundred Millions.*

“ THE Stock of the *Mississippi* Company,
“ instead of sinking under this prodigious
“ Load, still rose higher and higher every
“ Day; and the Man who animated and
“ conducted this whole Scheme was, with
“ an universal Approbation, made Compt-
“ rroller-General of the Finances. It is
“ agreed by all the Writers of those Days,
“ that amidst the most numerous Levées and
“ greatest Applause that ever attended any
“ Minister, he never once appeared either
“ elevated or surprised; and that though he
“ was daily forming some new and great De-
“ sign, he dispatched the ordinary Business
“ of his Post with an inimitable Readiness.

“ The Management of all the Revenues
“ in *France* was now in his Hands ; when,
“ instead of exacting the several Duties
“ with the same Severity the Farmers had
“ done before him, he took away the *Toll-*
“ *Bars* at the Entrance of *Paris*, and abo-
“ lished all those heavy Taxes with which
“ the Poor were chiefly affected, such as the
“ Duties upon Flesh, Fish, Fruit, Wine, and
“ Fuel ; in consequence of which, an infinite
“ Number of Collectors and Toll-gatherers
“ were discharged as useless. These Actions
“ render’d him extreamly dear to the Com-
“ mon People, who publickly called him
“ the *Saviour of France*. He proceeded
“ to form still greater Designs, to set up se-
“ veral new Manufactories in the Kingdom ;
“ and is reported to have had Thoughts of
“ making a new Canal for Ships of Burthen
“ from the *Loyer* to the *Seine* ; to have
“ designed *Roan* for the chief Magazine of
“ all *France*, and to have built a *new City*
“ on the other Side of the *Seine*, over-
“ against the *Old*. His prodigious Reputa-
“ tion, and the Fame of these Things, gave
“ no small Alarm to all our Neighbours,
“ who regarded the rising Greatness of this
“ King-

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“ Kingdom with the utmost Jealousy. It
“ is reported, that no less than half a Mil-
“ lion of People, including Strangers from
“ the remotest Parts of *Europe*, flocked to
“ *Paris*, to become Adventurers in a Com-
“ pany, which seemed determined to en-
“ gross the Riches of the World. This raised
“ the Stock to so prodigious an Height, that
“ though the Capital was augmented by new
“ Subscriptions to *three hundred Millions*,
“ it sold at length at *two thousand and fifty*
“ *per Cent.* so that those who originally sub-
“ scribed a State Bill of *one hundred Livres*,
“ which they bought for *thirty-five or forty*,
“ became clear Gainers of above *two thou-*
“ *sand Livres*. We should not venture to
“ relate this Fact, which seems so highly in-
“ credible now, was it not confirmed by
“ all the Historians of that Age, and appa-
“ rent from several Books of Entries, which
“ are to be seen in our Publick Offices even
“ at this Day.

“ IT is affirmed by many, that the *Comp-*
“ *troller-General* was sensible this exces-
“ *sive Rise of the Stock would prove the*
“ *Destruction of all his Designs*; but that

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“ he was not suffered by some, who had an
“ Influence at Court (and who perhaps in
“ Secret envied him) to put a timely Check
“ to it. The Event justified his Apprehen-
“ sions. The first Adventurers began now
“ to think of what they called in those
“ Days *Reallizing*, that is, of converting
“ their prodigious Gains into *Specie*. This
“ brought such a Demand upon the *Bank*,
“ as it was impossible to answer; to stop
“ which, the Government was obliged to
“ have Recourse to several extraordinary
“ Methods: But as *Force* and *Credit* are in-
“ consistent in their Nature, the Remedy
“ proved worse than the Disease, and over-
“ threw at once the whole Structure. The
“ Principles which that great Genius, who
“ first erected it, seems chiefly to have acted
“ upon, and which it is said he frequently
“ used to assert in his particular Conversa-
“ tions, were these, that *The Power and*
“ *Wealth of a Nation consisted in Numbers*
“ *of People*; that *The Number of a People*
“ *depended on Trade*; and that *Trade de-*
“ *pended on Money*: That *Credit was equal*
“ *to Money*; that *Though among Bankers and*
“ *Private Traders Credit, well managed, is*
“ *worth*

“ worth Ten times their Capital Stock, yet
“ that the Credit of a Royal Bank, support-
“ ed by the whole Species of a Kingdom
“ formed into one Great Trading Company,
“ has innumerable Advantages over the for-
“ mer, and may consequently be extended
“ much farther; that Paper might supply
“ the Place of Silver, and was even better
“ qualified to be used as Money, as it might
“ be made more easy for Delivery, of the
“ same Value in all Places, kept or divided
“ without Loss or Expence, capable of a
“ Stamp, and less liable to be counterfeited;
“ and lastly, that France, if she would exert
“ her whole Strength, and make use of all
“ the Advantages Providence had bestowed
“ upon her, might certainly become the most
“ powerful Kingdom in the World.

“ Whether, or no, there is not something
“ in these Maxims more beautiful in Specu-
“ lation, than reducible to Practice; or
“ whether it were impossible for the most ex-
“ tensive Genius to carry on so many great
“ Designs at once; or lastly, whether, as
“ most affirm, his Plan was broke in upon,
“ and ruined by the Envy and Ignorance of

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“ other People, we shall not pretend to de-
“ termine at this Distance of Time. One
“ Thing is certain, that so specious was his
“ System, that, even after it had failed here,
“ it was set up and carried on in *England*
“ and *Holland*: But as the Managers had
“ neither the Strength to conduct, nor the
“ Skill to fit and accommodate it to the dif-
“ ferent Constitutions of those Countries,
“ it fell in Pieces sooner there, and proved
“ much more fatal than with us. The Dif-
“ solution of this vast Machine put all *France*
“ in Confusion: Thousands of Families
“ were naturally involved in the Ruin of it;
“ and the People, who always love or hate
“ in Extreams, made several Attempts on
“ the very Life of that Man, whom they
“ had a little before adored as the *good Ge-*
“ *nius of France*. It is agreed by all the
“ Writers of those Times, that the *Comptrol-*
“ *ler-General*, as he had never been elevated
“ with the Applause, was now firm and in-
“ trepid amidst the Clamours and Threats of
“ a whole Nation; and that he daily applied
“ himself with the utmost Diligence to have
“ once again mended and set on foot his vast
“ Plan. The Duke Regent, who knew bet-

“ ter

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" ter than any Man what Measures the
" Comptroller-General had *advised* or *op-*
" *posed*, and who consequently was the *best*,
" and indeed the *only* Judge of his true
" Demerits, with a Resolution worthy the
" Imitation of all Princes who would be
" well served, protected his Minister from
" the Fury of the Populace. He placed a
" Guard about his Person ; and when the
" Tide at last ran too violent against him,
" to be any longer stemmed, gave him pro-
" per Passes, and permitted him to leave
" France. Mr. Law retired first to Flan-
" ders, from thence to Venice, Hambourg,
" and Copenhagen, and, last of all, to his na-
" tive Country Great Britain, where * *

* * * * * * * * * * * * *
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You alone, Sir, can determine in what Manner this future Historian shall conclude a Narration, which Posterity will never think too long or particular, as it will give them an Account of the most *surprising* and *remarkable Event* in all his History. It is

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scarce probable, that your extensive Genius should lie altogether idle and unactive ; yet should you offer any Thing here, you are to expect it will be opposed by *Prejudice* on one hand, and a much more dangerous Enemy on the other, namely, The *Envy* of those who have passed among us, for some Time, for *Men of Business*, meerly from a *superficial* Way of *prating* on those Subjects you are so truly a Master of. It is evident, that under whatever Government you shall chuse to live, you are capable of being a most *useful* or *hurtful* Subject. That you may prove the former to *Great Britain*, if you intend to reside among us, is the hearty Wish of,

London,
Nov. 11.

1721.

S I R, &c.



A

LETTER
TO THE
CRAFTSMAN
FROM
EUSTACE BUDGELL *Efq;*

Occasioned by his late Presenting an

Humble Complaint to His MAJESTY

Against the Right Honourable

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

The NINTH EDITION.

With a POSTSCRIPT.

N. B. The Publishers have also added to this Edition Mr. Budgell's Speech to His Majesty, on *April 21.* which was never before printed from a *true Copy.*

Printed in the Year 1731.



Advertisement.

THE following *Letter to the Craftsman* being so often Mentioned and Referred to, both in the *Introduction* and the *Letter to Cleomenes*, it was thought proper to insert it in this Appendix.





A
LETTER
TO THE
CRAFTSMAN
FROM
EUSTACE BUDGELL Esq;

Mr. Danvers,

 AM obliged in Gratitude to return you my most humble and hearty Thanks for taking notice of my *Affair* in a Paragraph of your Paper of the 2d Instant; by which I hope you have, in some Measure, convinced the Publick, how very false and wicked those Accounts were, which were given in the *St. James's Evening-Post*, and several other *News-Papers*, of what passed at the King's Levée on the 21st of the last Month, when I presented to his Majesty on humble Complaint

plaint against Sir *Robert Walpole*. You have often expressed (I hope very sincerely) a noble *Indignation* against all *Oppressors*, and a generous *Concern* for the *Oppressed*. I beg Leave to add, that you are perhaps more obliged, even in *Point of Honour*, than you at *present* imagine, to prevent my being publickly abused and injured by so unfair a Weapon as *downright Falshood*.

To explain what I mean, I must remind you, that about the Beginning of June, 1728. I published a small Poem upon *His Majesty's Journey to CAMBRIDGE and NEWMARKET*, to which I was induced by no other Motives than a most sincere Veneration for his Majesty's Great and Royal Virtues, and a Design to make my Fellow-Subjects sensible (as far as in me lay) how happy they were in having such a Prince. The Publick was pleased to receive this little Piece with a good deal of Indulgence: They were, perhaps, prejudiced in its Favour by some Observations you were pleased to make upon it in your Paper of the 8th of June, 1728. in which there is the following Article.

From

From my own Chambers.

“ I HAVE often wondered, that our *British Poetry* should be at so low an Ebb,
“ under the Administration of GENTLEMEN,
“ who have distinguished themselves in no-
“ thing more remarkably than their Encou-
“ ragement of *Arts* and *polite Learning*.
“ Yet this is so notoriously true, that a Man
“ who reads over the late Compositions of
“ some *eminent Hands*, cannot help pitying
“ the Case of their *Patrons*, who have been
“ so *liberal* to the *Muses* to so *little Purpose*.
“ It is indeed unaccountable, how Men of
“ the *least Genius*, can perform so wretched-
“ ly on so *glorious* a Subject. All their Pro-
“ ductions are either *cold* and *spiritless*, or
“ *forced, fustian*, and *incomprehensible*. They
“ want even the common Knack of *Versifica-*
“ *tion*; and as to *Perspicuity* and *Ease*,
“ (which are the *chief Beauties* of Writing,) “ they seem to have no *Notion* of them. Their
“ *Panegyricks* are meer Rhapsodies of *com-*
“ *mon-place Stuff*, applied to every Man a-
“ like, who happens to be in *Power* or *Fa-*
“ *vour*,

“ *vour*, without *Delicacy*, *Judgment*, or
“ *Distinction*.

“ As this is the Method of Writing now
“ in Vogue, I was, I confess, not a little
“ pleased with the Perusal of a short *Poem*,
“ just published, in a quite different Strain,
“ occasioned by his Majesty’s late Journey
“ to *Cambridge* and *Newmarket*, and writ-
“ ten by EUSTACE BUDGE~~L~~ Esq; a Gentle-
“ man who hath, long ago, obliged the
“ Town with several *polite Pieces*, in Verse
“ and Prose, which were universally ad-
“ mired at the Time when they were pub-
“ lished, and procured Him the Charac-
“ ter of one of the *finest Writers* of the
“ Age.

“ His *Dedication* to the *QUEEN*, pre-
“ fixed to this Poem, seems to answer the
“ true Design of such Addresses, as it is
“ built on Topicks, for which *only* the
“ greatest Princess upon Earth *ought* to be
“ commended. He celebrates Her, not for
“ being a *Queen*, but for being a *good Queen*;
“ not for the meer Possession of a *Crown*,
“ but for those *Qualities* which deserve and

“ adorn it; for her *conjugal Virtues*, her
“ *Taste of Letters*, and *Regard for Merit*,
“ which shine so eminently in her present
“ Majesty; and the *two last*, as Mr. *Budgell*
“ justly observes, made the Reign of her
“ great *Predecessor, Queen ELIZABETH*, so
“ truly glorious.

“ THERE is one Passage in this Dedication
“ so very remarkable, that I cannot help
“ transcribing it.

“ ISABELLA, of Castile, with equal Wit
“ and Reason, used to tell her Royal Con-
“ sort, Ferdinand the Catholick, that in a
“ Court there ought to be NO OTHER FAVO-
“ RITES, than the QUEEN Favourite to the
“ KING, and the KING Favourite to the
“ QUEEN.

“ IN the Poem itself, the several Inci-
“ dents, which arose from his Majesty's late
“ Journey to Cambridge and Newmarket,
“ are beautifully touched. The Thoughts
“ are natural, the Compliments well-turned,
“ the Versification easy, and the Expression
“ masculine.

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“ THE Description of his Majesty’s Re-
“ ception and Behaviour in the *Senate-House*
“ at Cambridge, is, in my Opinion, very
“ just and poetical.”

BUT now, *assembld* with his learned Seers,
Such is his Love of Arts, the King appears.
In graceful Order all around him stand
The Letter’d Youth, the Hopes of Britain’s Land,
Taught here with Vice to wage successful War,
To grace the Senate, Pulpit, and the Bar :
Well pleas’d their flowing Habits to behold,
Their learned Rites and Forms ordain’d of old,
O’er all the Dome he casts his ravish’d Eyes,
And feels new Pleasures in his Breast arise ;
Whilst every Rank with rival Powers contend,
Which most the royal Virtues shall commend ;
His god-like Acts alternate they rehearse,
In strong Orations some, and some in smoother
Verse.

MEAN while great BRUNSWICK, nodding
from his Throne,
Confirms their Rights, and yet asserts his own ;
By his creating Voice, propitious, wise,
Physicians, Lawyers, and Divines, arise ;

Ev’n

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*Ev'n here the regal Grandeur he maintains,
And in the Council of the Muses reigns.*

“ BUT what I am most of all pleased with
“ in this Poem, is that artful Transition,
“ which the Author makes from his De-
“ scription of the Horse-Races at New-
“ Market, to that glorious Action at Ou-
“ DENARD, in which his Majesty gave such
“ signal Proofs of his *personal Courage* and
“ *Bravery.*”

*ON this distinguisb'd Day, the noble Breed
Seem'd to exert a more than usual Speed,
As if, by Instinct, each contending Horse
Knew that Britannia's King beheld the Course.*

*AND yet, O Prince, with far superior Grace,
Might the proud Species boast their generous Race.
Did they but know, on Oudenarda's Plain,
How greatly one illustrious Steed was slain,
Well pleas'd his Life in Battle to resign,
Pierc'd with the fatal Ball, which threaten'd
Thine.*

*ON that important Day, well known to Fame,
And made immortal by thy glorious Name,*

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When, like a Tempest, in Europa's Right,
Thy martial Genius urg'd Thee to the Fight,
Where'er the Fury of the Battle rag'd,
Where'er the Thickest of her Foes engag'd,
There wast thou seen, too prodigal of Life,
While thy rash Valour turn'd the doubtful Strife.

THE Gauls retreating, yet afbam'd to see
The Fortune of the Day o'er-rul'd by Thee,
By Thee alone (*a single, youthful Hand*)
Boil'd with fresh Rage ; and, yet afraid to stand,
Like the old Parthians, fighting as they fled,
Aim'd all the War at thy devoted Head.

“ YET whatever Beauties I may fancy I
“ have discovered in this Piece ; or, however
“ the Generality of the World may think fit
“ to approve of it ; I am very doubtful what
“ Reception it will meet with amongst a cer-
“ tain Set of Courtiers ; and am indeed
“ somewhat surpriz'd, that a Gentleman,
“ who hath seen so much of the World, and
“ formerly been a Courtier himself, should
“ imagine that it was sufficient for him to say
“ a great many handsome Things of his
“ Prince, without including *One of his Mi-*
“ *nisters* in the same Compliment. Some of
“ his

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“ his ill-judging Friends, I find, are apprehensive that this Omission will deprive his *Poem* of all other Recommendation, except that of its own *Merit*; and for my Part, indeed, if He had done me the Honour to have consulted me on this Occasion, I should have advised Him to have flung in, at least, a small *Episode*, in Honour of all those *incomparable Persons*, who *shine*, at present, at the Head of Affairs. But, perhaps, what induced this Gentleman to be so very sparing of his Compliments, might be an Opinion that it would have lessen'd the just Praise of his Prince, to have put Him on a *Level* with any of his *Servants*; or that even their *Modesty* would have been offended at seeing themselves placed in such an *indecent Light*. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the *present Manners* and *Genius* of the *Court*, to determine how far this *Delicacy* of Procedure may be agreeable to that Climate; though I have seen some late *Pieces*, addressed to his *Majesty*, which, upon Perusal, appeared to be little more than a *Muster-Roll* of his Officers; and I am very confident, that if such a

“ *Man as Cardinal Wolsey was at the Head of Affairs, He would not be satisfied, without appearing, at least, Cheek by Joul with his Sovereign, if he did not, according to the constant Style of his late Eminence, positively insist upon having the FIRST PLACE.*”

THOUGH I am very sensible, Mr. *Danvers*, that in some of the Observations above mentioned, you suffered your Good Nature to get the Better of your Judgment, I do not, on the other hand, believe that any Consideration could have made you commend a Piece, in which you did not really imagine there was some little Merit; and I must be extremely stupid to be altogether insensible of the Approbation of a Gentleman, whose very Enemies have allowed him to be a Man of great Abilities, great Learning, and a Master of our Language. I could, however, have wished, for some Reasons, that you had omitted the latter Part of your Compliment; and though you are pleased to observe that I was once a Courtier, I begin shrewdly to suspect that Mr. *Danvers* of *Grays-Inn* understands the Climate of a Court much better than myself:

self: But this is foreign to my present Purpose; which is to acquaint you, that your Observations upon my Poem gave Occasion to the following *most remarkable* Paragraphs and Queries, which were published in the *British Journal* of June 15. 1728. I shall insert them *Verbatim*, for very *particular Reasons*, and with those very Words in *Italick* and *Capital Letters*, which were so printed in the *British Journal*.

From my own Chambers.

“ THE learned Author of the *Crafts-*
“ *man* having done Justice to that
“ ingenious Performance, with which a
“ Gentleman of the *Long Robe* has obliged the
“ Publick; I think it incumbent on me, to
“ subscribe to his Recommendation of that
“ *most incomparable Poem*. I am proud of
“ an Occasion to do Honour to EUSTACE
“ BUDGELL Esq; and tho’ Mr. D’An-
“ vers seems to fear his Merits may be dif-
“ own’d, I don’t doubt he’ll have his *Re-*
“ *ward*.

“ It is not often that I apply to my
“ Brother *Caleb*; and therefore, now I am
“ possessed of a fair Opportunity, I shall ask
“ him a few well-meaning Questions.

“ 1. Whether the Letters E. B. subscribed
“ to several Extraordinary Epistles, publish'd
“ in the Craftsman, were not more than or-
“ dinarily significant, or in other Words,
“ the initial Letters of proper Names ?

“ 2. Why the same Letters E. B. are
“ struck out in the Octavo Volumes; where-
“ as all the other subscribing Letters stand
“ in the Collections, as they do in the Week-
“ ly Journals?

“ 3. Whether the ingenious Gentleman,
“ who writ those invaluable Pieces, does
“ not merit more than common Favours of
“ His Majesty, on Account of the excel-
“ lent Observations he therein made on His
“ Government ?

“ I ask Pardon, if this should be disagree-
“ able to any One; but the Author of the
“ Crafts-

"*Craftsman* having so worthily recommended
" EUSTACE BUDGELL Esq; I think I
" have the same Right, with regard to
" E. B. Esq; and I hope this Gentleman will
" also have *his Reward*. In the mean Time
" I beg it as a Kindness to myself, that
" Mr. *D'Anvers* will restore those *subscri-*
" *bing Letters* to the next Edition of the
" Book; for surely the Author cannot be
" ashamed to own such exceeding fine
" *Things*."

I must confess, Mr. *Danvers*, I had long since made a firm Resolution never to answer any Thing that should be wrote against me, in which my Adversary did not shew himself a Man of good Sense, and confine himself strictly to *Truth*. In that unfortunate Year 1720. I was the *first* Man in *England* who had either the Courage or Inclination to fall openly upon a *Set of Men*, who were *soon after* allowed to be *Villains* by all Mankind, and branded as such by the whole Legislature. Upon this Occasion I had no less than *seven* Pamphlets full of *Scurrility* or *false Reasoning* published against me in *one Week*; to all which I never made any

Reply. Two of the ingenious Authors have since frankly owned to me, that they wrote against their Consciences, and were *hired* to abuse me. One of these Gentlemen had *sixty Guineas* and a *Post* in the South-Sea House: The other had *Forty-five Guineas*, and a *Post promised*, though never *given* him. I can *name* the Persons who *paid* and *received* the Money; and pardon me, Mr. *Danvers*, if I presume to say, that I mention these Particulars, as I humbly conceive them not to be altogether unworthy *your Notice*. But notwithstanding my former Resolution, and though you thought the Querist in the *British Journal* too contemptible a Person to be taken Notice of, I am resolved for *certain Reasons*, to give him a very *plain* and *distinct* Answer to his three Questions. You cannot but observe, Mr. *Danvers*, that he is pleased to assume the Air of a *very great Man*, who has the Power of *rewarding or punishing*. Speaking of your humble Servant, *Though Mr. Danvers (says the Querist) seems to fear his Merit may be disowned, I don't doubt he'll have his REWARD*. I think I am not altogether a Stranger to the *Beauties and Conciseness*

ness of this Stile ; and that from one particular Expression, and some Circumstances which soon followed this Menace, I do as certainly know the *Hand* from whence these *well-meaning Queries* came, as if I had seen him write them : But it is Time I should answer his Questions.

IN Answer to his *first Question*, I do not know whether the Letters *E. B.* subscribed to several *extraordinary Epistles* published in the *Craftsman*, were *more than ordinarily significant*, or not ; or, in other Words, whether, or not, they were the *initial Letters of proper Names* : But I do solemnly declare, that I was neither the Author of those *extraordinary Epistles*, nor do I know who was ; and that I neither *saw* or *knew* any Thing of them, till they appeared in Print in your Papers ; and I must further tell the Querist, *whoever he is*, that, even in the *miserable and wretched Condition* to which I am at present reduced, I would *scorn* to say thus much to him, if it was not *true*.

His *second Question*, you, Mr. *Danvers*, if you had thought it worth your while,
could

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could have answer'd, much better than I can: All I can say to it, is, That I neither know if these terrible Letters *E. B.* are struck out in the *Octavo Volumes*, or not; nor whether all the other *subscribing Letters* stand in the *Collections* as they do in the *Weekly Journals*. If the Letters *E. B.* are really struck out, you never did me the Honour (and I don't know why you should) to consult me about it.

In Answer to our Querist's third Question viz. "Whether the ingenious Gentleman who writ those invaluable Pieces, does not merit more than common Favours of his Majesty, on account of the Excellent Observations he therein made on his Government?"

If the Querist means, as I presume he does, by the Words, *more than common Favours*, the *most unparallel'd Cruelties*; and if by the Words, *Excellent Observations on his Majesty's Government*, he means *proper Observations on the Conduct of his Majesty's Ministers, both to his Majesty himself, and to his Subjects*; though I am altogether uncon-

unconcern'd in the Question as stated above, yet I must tell the Querist, that I have so high an Opinion of the *Justice* and *Honour* of my *King*, and am so fully perswaded that he looks upon himself to be a *Common Father* to *all* his Subjects, that should he know even the *greatest* of *his Ministers* made use of the Power with which he is intrusted, to gratify his own *little Malice* and *mean Jealousy*, by ruining *any* of his Fellow-Subjects ; in such a Case I make no manner of Doubt but that his Majesty would let such a Minister know, that he ought to employ his Power to much *better Purposes*.

HAVING given, I hope, a full and distinct Answer to each of the Querists three Questions, I think my self obliged to allow an Adversary, what is justly due to him ; and therefore, though I always did, and do still think, that the Querist is by no Means an Author of the *first Class*, yet I must confess, that in the Composition before us, he seems to have wrote under some particular *Inspiration*, and to have been endued with the *Spirit of Prophecy*. It is very certain, that since he published these Prognosticks, I

W

have

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have received more than common Favours : It is certain I have had my Reward, and such a Reward, as, I must own, I did not expect when I published that Poem, in which both you and other People seemed to think there were some Lines, with which the greatest Prince upon Earth could not reasonably be displeased.

I HAVE at present done with the Querist ; but since I have my Pen in my Hand, I hope you will excuse me, Mr. Danvers, if I take some Notice of the Author of that Paragraph, which was inserted in the *St. James's Evening-Post* of April 23. and upon which you was so kind as to animadvert a little in your *Journal*. I chuse the rather to do this, because I am pretty well assured that the Author of that Paragraph is a particular Friend of the Querist's. The Paragraph it self is in these Words ;

“ On Tuesday last, one Mr. Budgell, a
“ Gentleman that has been greatly disorder'd
“ in his Senses, went into the Drawing-Room
“ at Court, and presented a Petition to His
“ Majesty, praying that a certain great Mi-
“ nister

" nister of State might be removed from all
" his Employments. This Accident afforded
" some Amusement to the illustrious Circle,
" and the poor Gentleman was safely con-
" ducted Home to his Family.

I BELIEVE I may very safely venture to assert, That there never was before in any ten Lines so much *mean Art, pitiful Malice, and down-right Falshood*, as in the ten Lines now before us.

IN order to prove what I say, I shall take the Liberty to dissect them.

On Tuesday last, one Mr. Budgell.] It is very possible that my Name may not be so well known to my Fellow-Subjects, as the Gentleman's who was the Author of this Paragraph; and yet, perhaps, I have not lived so very obscurely; as to deserve being described by the polite Phrase of *One Mr. Budgell.*

*A Gentleman that has been greatly dis-
order'd in his Senses.]* Such a Report has been spread with the utmost Cunning and Industry, both *within* and *without* the *Walls* of

of his Majesty's Palace ; and I intend, God willing, to make it very plainly appear by whom, and with what *Design*, the said Report was spread.

Went into the Drawing-Room at Court.] This is a *Falshood* ; but such a *Falshood* as is not without a *mean Design*. The *Design* is to make an Action appear *ridiculous*, which I humbly conceive was not so : The *Drawing-Room*, is a large Room, very distant from that in which his Majesty sees Company in a Morning ; and every Body knows, that in the *Drawing-Room* His Majesty receives, and usually converses with the *Ladies*. To have troubled him with a Petition in *this* Place, would have been highly *improper* ; whereas there is scarce a *Day* passes in which his Majesty does not receive one or more Petitions at his *Levée*.

And presented a Petition to his Majesty, praying, that a certain great Minister of State might be removed from all his Employments.] I should indeed have had a large Share of Impudence and Folly to have presented a Petition to his Majesty containing
such

such a Prayer. A private Man, and a good Subject, may certainly presume, and even think it his *Duty*, to lay before his Sovereign *Matters of Fact*; but then he must leave his Sovereign to judge of those *Facts*, and to act upon them as he sees fit. The most humble Advice, unasked, might look too much like Insolence. If it be for his Majesty's Service, I do most sincerely wish, that the Power of that Minister here meant, instead of being *lessened*, may every Day grow *greater* than it is. No Man knew from me, nor does *yet* know, the Contents of that Paper I delivered to his Majesty; and it is pretty plain that the Author of this Paragraph was not acquainted with them at the *Time* he wrote it; though he had the *consummate Assurance* to tell all the World what they were.

This Accident afforded some Amusement to the illustrious Circle.] It might, indeed, very well do so, if it had been such an *Accident* as this Gentleman has described; yet how the *illustrious Circle* came to guess at the Contents of my Petition, when this Gentleman, for *Reasons* best known to *himself*, does

does not take Notice that I once opened my Lips, is, what I confess, my *disordered Senses* cannot so easily comprehend.

And the poor Gentleman.] This kind Epithet of *poor*, puts me in mind of the *Crocodile*, who first *destroys* a Man, and then *weeps* over him.

Was safely conducted home to his Family.] Who would not think, by this Conclusion, that I had been sent home with *a File of Musketeers*, or, at least, in Custody of the *Yeomen* of the Guard! Whereas, in Truth, there was not even the *least Foundation* for this shameful Story. I confess I was a little moved to see such a Falshood asserted so roundly in a Paper, which, by the Title, we are to suppose comes from *St. James's*; because I humbly conceive it to contain an high Reflection upon his Majesty himself. All good Princes have ever lent a gracious Ear to the Complaints of their Subjects, and more especially against their *own Ministers*, who are, generally speaking, too powerful to be checked by any but their *Master*; I could give innumerable Instances of what I am say-

ing out of ancient and modern History; nor do I remember to have heard of any *Prince* so *cruel*, as to set his Guards upon one of his poor Subjects, who came (perhaps, at the Peril of his *own Life*) to acquaint him with what he humbly conceived it was necessary he should know. If the Contents of my Petition are *false*, I expect, and am content to be severely punished: If they are *true*, I am very *sure* I have committed no Fault. His Majesty was pleased to hear what I said to him with that *Goodness* and *Condescension*, which are never wanting in a *generous Breast*; and I cannot possibly think, that he who penned the above-mentioned *Account*, had a due Regard to the Character of his *Prince*, when he endeavoured to insinuate the *contrary*.

HAVING taken this Paragraph to *Pieces*, I shall once more put it *together*, because I must own, that the oftener I *look* upon it, the more I *admire* it.

“ On Tuesday last, one Mr. *Budgell*, a Gentleman that has been greatly disordered in his Senses, went into the Drawing-Room

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“ at Court, and presented a Petition to his
“ Majesty, praying, that a certain great Mi-
“ nister of State might be removed from all
“ his Employments. This Accident afford-
“ ed some Amusement to the illustrious Cir-
“ cle, and the poor Gentleman was safely
“ conducted home to his Family.”

THE Author of this Paragraph being, prob-
ably, under some Apprehension, that he had
not yet sufficiently disgraced me, was pleased
to take notice of me again in his next Paper,
with his usual *Candor* and *Veracity*, and in
the following Words, *viz.*.

“ Mr. BUDGELL, mention'd in our former,
“ hath attempted to print his Speech to his
“ Majesty in the *Drawing-Room*, and like-
“ wise the Memorial he delivered at the
“ same Time; but, we hear, that no Body
“ would meddle with it.”

IT would be too ill-natur'd, to keep this Wri-
ter out of the *Drawing-Room*, since he seems
to be so very *fond* of it; but as to what he is plea-
sed to assert with so happy an *Assurance*, If he
makes it necessary, I will convince the Pub-
lick,

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lick, that I was so far from attempting to print *any Thing* at all, that I made it my most *earnest Request* to my few Friends, that they would take no publick Notice of this Affair; and I believe I may assure this Writer, that *nothing* at all would have been *printed* about it, if he had not thought it necessary to fall upon me in a Manner not entirely consistent, either with *Truth* or *common Humanity*. His last Paragraph was so very far from frightening the *Booksellers* and *Printers*, which I take to be the *mean Design* of it, that it brought several of them to me, to assure me, That if I intended to print my Memorial, they were ready to *meddle with it*. I have not, at present, the least Thoughts of letting them *meddle with it*, nor have communicated the Contents of it to *any* one of my Friends; And yet If it should ever fall into this Gentleman's Hands, and he should think proper to oblige the Publick with a Sight of it, I humbly trust it will not appear to be the Memorial of a Person who was *greatly disordered in his Senses*.

It is no *Secret*, that the *St. James's Evening-Post* is what the Printers call a *Pension-
e 2 Paper,*

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Paper, that is, It is obliged for its *Existence* to a certain *great Man*, who, I am credibly informed, allows 200*l. per Ann.* for the *Support* of it; and takes care to have it sent *gratis* to all the Cities and great Towns in *England*. I make no manner of Doubt, but that this *most noble Person*, to convince the World he was never consulted about the inserting these Paragraphs, and that he has the utmost Aversion to all *Untruths* and *little Arts*, will immediately withdraw his Bounty from this extraordinary Paper. I am the rather of this Opinion, because *these Paragraphs*, added to some *Affidavits* lately made about the *Dunkirk-Affair*, might possibly give the World but an indifferent Notion of *any Cause*, or *any Man*, that is supported by *such Methods*.

As to the Contents of my *Memorial*, or *Petition*, I believe I have already said enough to shew you, Mr. *Danvers*, that it is not the Design of this Letter to acquaint you with them. Thus much, however, I need not scruple to say; I have mentioned no *Facts*, but such, for which, I humbly hope, I can produce the clearest and most convincing

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cⁱng Evidence; and that I am ready to seal (even with my *Blood*, if it be necessary) the Truth of every Thing asserted in that Paper I delivered to his Majesty, and of SOMETHING MORE. It has been ever my Opinion, (in which I hope Sir R. W. will not *disagree* with me,) That Any Man who *knowingly* and *designedly* shall tell his Prince a *Falshood*, deserves the most *rigorous Punishment*. As to the *Prayer* of my Petition, with humble Submission to the worthy Writer I have quoted above, it was not that *A certain great Minister of State might be removed from all his Employments*; neither was it for *Money*, a *Place*, or a *Pension*; I humbly trust it was *such*, and so *reasonable*, that it can hardly be denied by a *wise* and a *just Prince*; for the Signification of whose Pleasure I shall wait with the Duty that becomes a *Loyal Subject*.

I shall here, without the least Pain to my self, do Sir R. W. one Piece of Justice. This great Man has often complained that the Charges brought against him were in too *general Terms*; and I must ingenuously own, that I do think he has *sometimes* made this

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Complaint with a great deal of Reason. It cannot, indeed, be expected that any Minister should be actually impeached in the Zenith of his Power; and, if I remember rightly, this *most noble Person* himself did not impeach the late Lord *B——ke* till he was removed from his Post; yet notwithstanding this, I do think that no Man ought to be *accused*, and much less reputed *guilty*, who cannot be charged with *particular Facts*.

I was once Sir *R.W's Friend*: It was in those Days when he was struggling with, and was kept down, by a powerful and a very able Man.

Sir *R.W.* may possibly at present think me his *Enemy*. I shall not dispute about *Words*; yet thus much I will venture to say, That If I am his *Enemy*, I am at least one of the most *open* and *generous Enemies* that ever any great Man had; of which, if it becomes *necessary*, I think I can lay before the Publick the most *evident* and *undeniable Proofs*.

HAVING

HAVING taken notice that I was once *well* acquainted with this *great Man*, I must endeavour to take from myself the least Impputation of the two most odious Crimes upon Earth, I mean, *Ingratitude* and *Treachery*: Whoever can be guilty of *these*, may very possibly have a Soul *black* enough to be guilty of *any Thing*; and I should a little doubt, whether a Man who had once been *false* to his *Friend*, could ever be *true* to his *King*, or his *Country*. I hope I shall not be thought guilty of *Ingratitude*, since I can very truly affirm, that Sir *R. W.* has had some *small Obligations* to me; but if I ever yet received the least *Favour*, *Assistance*, or *Kindness*, of any sort from Sir *R. W.* it is certain that I have never acknowledg'd it as I ought to have done; and I must confess that my Memory is extreamly unfaithful. *Treachery* is the next Vice to *Ingratitude*; and I am therefore fully determined, whatever I suffer, to do nothing contrary to the Rules of *Honour*. Sir *R. W.* is not in the least obliged to me for this Resolution: I have taken it, not for *his Sake*, but *my own*.

SINCE I have enter'd the Lists, though with great Reluctance, I have no Notion of turning back ; yet if I should happen to *injure* this *most noble* Person in any *one* Particular, I shall be as ready to make him all possible Reparation, as he himself can be to require it.

IF in the preceding Paragraphs I have let drop any single Word, or Expression, which may possibly shew too warm a Resentment, I hope, Mr. *Danvers*, you will have the Goodness to excuse it, when you remember it fell from an unhappy Person under Confinement.

WHILE you are pleasing yourself in *Grays-Inn Walks*, to see the Spring opening in all its Beauties, you can hardly have any Notion of what a Wretch suffers who is *shut up*, and sees a *lingering Death* daily making its Approaches. You may possibly pity me a little the more, when I shall tell you what is very *true*, namely, that I do not owe *one single Farthing* to that Person, for whose pretended Debt I was first confined ; that on
the

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the contrary, that very Person owes me above *three hundred Pounds*. You will have some Notion of this *seeming Paradox*, when I acquaint you, that I first lost my Liberty upon one Article of an *open-unballanc'd Account* of about *twelve Years*; which *Account* I have often in Court, and oftener *out of it*, earnestly desired might be *fairly ballanc'd*, and offer'd to submit to *any impartial Person*. If you wonder at this, Mr. Danvers, I shall strongly suspect, that, though you live at *Grays-Inn*, you are better vers'd in the *Rules of Reason*, than the *Forms of Law*. I know that you, who are a Philosopher, will advise me to divert myself, either with Reading or Composing. But, alas ! I must inform you, that under the *specious Mask* of an *Execution*, I had my very *private Letters* and *Writings* taken from me ; and lost such *Papers* as, however *trifling* they may seem to those who are possess'd of them, I would not have parted with for *1000 £.* I am very far from complaining of any Court of Judicature ; I know 'tis my Duty to submit to their Decisions, and always to believe them *strictly just* ; yet I hope I may, at least, be allowed to deplore my own unhappy

W

Fate,

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Fate, when in *more than one Instance*, I have been treated with *greater Severity* than ever any *Englishman* was before, in the like *Circumstances*. As I never loved *general Affer-tions*, I am here strongly tempted to descend to *Particulars*; but when I consider my *present Situation*, I am in great Doubt, whether, with any tolerable Assurance of Impunity, I might venture to mention even the most *plain*, the most *notorious*, and *undeniable Facts*.

I surrend'red myself to the *Fleet* to save my *Bail*; which I would have done, though I had known I had gone to *certain Death*. To use the Querist's own Expression, I had very good Reasons to believe, that *more than common Favours* were prepar'd for me. In a Word, I think that I owe my *Life* to the Honourable the Committee of the House of Commons, who, just as I was confin'd, thought proper to look into Mr. *Bambridge's Administration*: I can only return my most humble Thanks in this publick Manner to that Honourable Committee, and heartily wish them Success in all their future Undertakings. If any great Offenders began to fear where their *Inquiries* would end; if they were deceived by

by such *Tricks* as generous Minds can hardly *suspect*, because they scorn to *practise*; if the noble *Warmth* and *Zeal* of some of them was cunningly employed to render the *Prudence* of others useless; I hope that all these *little Arts* will not entirely discourage them; that it will only teach them for the future to act with more *Unanimity* and *Caution*; and that they will still prosecute those *Designs*, which have already rendered them so justly dear to the honest Part of their Fellow-Subjects.

WHEN my *Fortune* and *Liberty* were taken from me, you will, I believe, allow, that it was pretty severe to attack that only Thing I had left, *viz.* A *little Reputation*; To represent me every where as a *Person distract-ed*, that my Complaints might either be not *heard*, or not *regarded*.

THE *Favours* of the Crown will, I hope, be always bestow'd upon Men who deserve them much better than myself. If I can obtain but *strict Justice*, I need not lie in the Place I am. I have, for particular Reasons, apply'd for *Justice* to the *Foun-tain*

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tain of Justice, his most Sacred Majesty ; nor will I, while I have Life left, entirely despair of obtaining it. My *Principles*, and Part of my Education, are very well known to be derived from a Man who was not a *Scandal* to his Country, I mean the late Mr. ADDISON. As to my *Loyalty*, Sir R. W. must excuse me, when I tell him, that if I cannot produce as great, and as undeniable an Instance of a *disinterested Loyalty*, as either *he himself*, or any one Person of *all his Family*, I am content to be thought whatever he shall please to represent me : On that Point I can never yield to him. He may possibly think this an unpardonable Way of Talking, from a Man in a Jail to a First Minister, who spends more Money in *one Day*, than the Wretch that speaks to him sees in a *Twelvemonth* : But as some Mitigation of my Crime, he will, I hope, have the Goodness to remember, that there was not *always* this *immense Distance* between us. It is, indeed, at present *immense* ; and I am as truly sensible as you, or any Body can make me, how unequal a Match I am to a Man supported with so much *Power* and *Wealth*. I know it is an Hundred to One,

but

but what I have already done will prove my Destruction ; I am even prepared to meet it : I know I can hope for nothing but *faint Friendships*, while I am sure to find the most *implacable Enemies*. I am sensible, that if at last I should, beyond all Expectation, happen to be a very mean Instrument in the Hand of Providence of doing some Good, many of those very Persons who would rejoice at the *Event*, would envy my *Success*. I even foresee some Dangers, which, perhaps, other People do not ; and yet, notwithstanding all this, I resolve, God willing, *To Proceed*. I was never extremely enamoured with *Life* : I am less in Love with it than ever, since I have contracted a Distemper in my Confinement, which, I believe, will hardly leave me ; and I do assure you, Mr. *Danvers*, That did I but know how to lay down my *Life* for the real Service of my poor Country, you should soon see how little I would hesitate to part with it.

I have but *one* Favour to ask of you, *viz.* That if I should happen by any *Accident* to die in my present Confinement, (you know we are all Subject to *Accidents*,) you will

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will do me the Justice to believe some *Memoirs* which I have left in the Hands of a *faithful Friend*. I will not promise that the *Stile* is correct; but I hope the *Matter* of them is curious enough to engage the Attention of the Publick. I am, &c.

Ludgate-Hill,
May 10. 1730.

POSTSCRIPT.

THOUGH my *Letter* has run to a *Sixth Edition* in a few *Days*, I have had Time enough to hear what is said, both of *that*, and of *myself*.

I AM assured that my Meaning is often mistaken in Page lxx. where I say,

I was once Sir R. W's Friend: It was in those Days when he was struggling with, and was kept down, by a powerful and a very able Man.

IT seems many People have thought, that by this *powerful* and *able* Man, I mean either the late Earl of *Oxford*, or the late Lord *B——ke*. I scarce knew Sir *R. W.* when those Gentlemen were in Power: The Person I mean, was the late Earl of *Sunderland*. During the whole Ministry of that great Man, I was a *zealous Friend* of Sir *R. W.*'s; to serve whom, I not only disengaged the noble Lord last mentioned, but even *another Person*, for whom I had the *utmost Esteem*; and I was no small Sufferer on both these Accounts.

As to what is said concerning *Myself*, I am credibly informed, that it is now industriously given out by *some People*, that though I had the Assurance to tell the King I was an *English Gentleman*, I am really an *Irishman*. I shall make no other Answer to this, but a *plain Relation of Matter of Fact*.

I was born in *Devonshire*: My *Father* was a *Doctor in Divinity*. He was my Grandfather's *third Son*; but his *two Elder Brothers* dying without Issue, he succeeded to

to the *Estate* of the *Family*; which, I think I can prove to a Demonstration, was known and settled in *Devonshire* above two hundred Years since. My Mother was the *only Daughter* of Bishop *Gulston*: The Bishop was born at *Wymondham* in *Leicestershire*, where I have now a small Concern, which was *Part* of his *Paternal Estate*.

UPON his late Majesty's Accession to the Throne, I was made *Secretary of State* in *Ireland*, *Accomptant-General* of all the *Revenue*, and chosen a *Member of Parliament*. I was removed from the first of these Posts, for not doing what no Man of *Honour* or *Honesty* would have done. The *Story* is very well known, and particularly to Sir *Robert Walpole*. My residing in *Ireland* for about four Years, while I was in the Posts above mentioned, is the *only Pretence* any one can have for calling me an *Irishman*. I am very sensible what it is my good-natured Enemies would insinuate by that Appellation: But I must intreat them to remember, that *Truth* and *Innocence* (especially when oppressed) have something a little bold in their very Nature.

SHAME

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SHAME ought to be the Companion of GUILT:
If it really *was* so, I should not at all despair
of making *some Men* blush, whose MODESTY
was never yet thought the most *conspicuous*
of their *Virtues.*

Ludgate-Hill,
May 28. 1730.



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The

The Publisher's Advertisement.

TO render this Edition compleat, we shall add to it, the Author's Speech to his Majesty, on *April 21.* which was never yet printed but in one of the *News-Papers*, neither was *that* done from a *true Copy.*

Mr. *Budgell* having presented his Petition, spoke as follows :

I Beseech Your MAJESTY to read that Petition.

It contains an humble Complaint against Sir R—t W—e.

If Your Majesty shall find that I have presumed to complain against so great a Man, without the strongest and justest Reasons, I am content to suffer the severest Punishment, even Death itself.

I am at present, Sir, an unhappy Prisoner in the Fleet; but when Your Majesty knows some Particulars, Your Majesty may possibly

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possibly think, I deserve a milder Fate, than either to rot in a Goal, or to be privately murdered there.

Before my Confinement, I had sollicited for above a Twelvemonth together, at a great Expence, for one single Audience either from Your Majesty, or the Queen.

It is highly proper Your Majesty should know by what Methods I was hindered from obtaining this only Favour I ever petitioned for; A Favour seldom refused to an English Gentleman, especially to one who has been employed in Publick Affairs.

Among other very mean Arts, the utmost Cunning and Industry was used to represent me as a Person distracted. I trust Your Majesty will not find me to be so; though it is very certain, that if Cruelty and Oppression could have disturb'd my Reason, I should not at present have been Master of that small Share of Understanding, which Providence thought fit to bestow upon me.

I fly from Your Mi——rs CRUELTY and INGRATITUDE, to Your Majesty's JUSTICE and MERCY.

F. I. N. I. S.

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